$6.00

HIGHLIGHTS FROM THE FIRST ANNUAL *WESTERN* CPAC

California Political Review

Bilingual Education

Willie Brown's Bottom Line

by Robert E. Rossier

REPORT CARD

Student's Name: Willie Brown

Subject: Bilingual Ed.

Area of Emphasis		Grade
Accumulation of Supporting Research	___	C-
Acquisition of Necessary Legal Mandate	___	F
Success in Teaching Non-English-Speaking Students to Speak English	___	D (& Falling Behind)
Improving Their S.A.T. Scores	___	F
Improving Their Drop-Out Rates	___	F-
Feathering Your Own Political Nest	___	A+

Also:

Owen Barfield, First *and* Last of the Oxford Inklings

A Mother's Ordeal: China's One Child Policy

John Kurzweil's Earthquake Journal

Vol. 5, No. 1 *A Publication of the California Public Policy Foundation* Winter 1994

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Ending the Liberal Monopoly in California Journalism

Should liberals continue to straitjacket California's political debate? No matter its failures, the left's creaking, derelict statism still shapes every discussion — *for* big government "solutions," *for* continuous tax increases, *for* more bureaucratic control, *belittling* individual freedom, *maligning* individual responsibility. Liberalism's monopoly in California journalism is the cause. ***California Political Review*** is the cure. Add *your* name to the growing list of California conservative leaders reading *California Political Review.* Subscribe today!

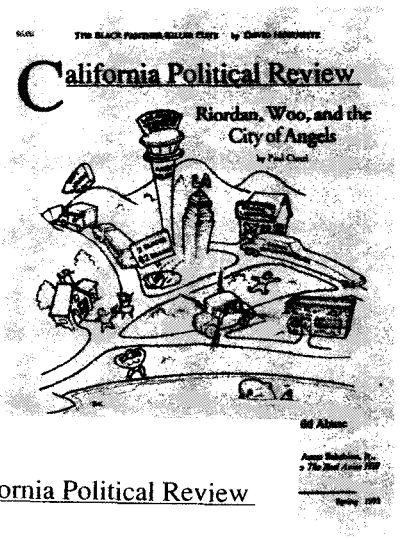
I can't tell you how impressed I am with California Political Review.
— William A. Rusher

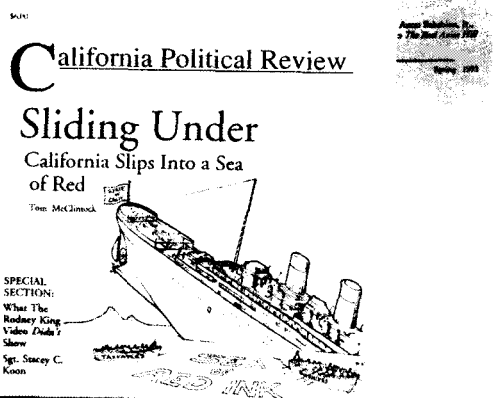
California Political Review's pages reflect the common sense conservative principles that guided the administrations of Ronald Reagan in which I was privileged to serve — a refreshing voice on California's political scene.
— Hon. Edwin Meese III

California Political Review is filling a critical need in the Golden State.
— Bruce Herschensohn

California Political Review promises to sweep clean the dusty corridors of political thought and analysis in the Golden State.
— Hon. Christopher Cox

California Political Review will help ensure that all viewpoints are placed before the public.
— Hon. George Deukmejian





SUBSCRIPTION APPLICATION

Name _____
Please Print
Address _____
City _____
State _____ Zip _____
Signature _____

Yes. I want a full year (FOUR quarterly issues) of *California Political Review* (including FOUR issues of *CPR Update*, *CPR's* new, between issues newsletter) for just $24.95 — more than 15% off the cover price! ___ I have enclosed my check (payable to the California Public Policy Foundation) **OR** ___ Bill me after my first issue. If I am not satisfied, I may write "cancel" on my bill and return it within 15 days, owing nothing. (Please send this form to the address below. Thank you.)

California Political Review

Must reading for informed Conservatives

Post Office Box 56671, Sherman Oaks, California 91413-1671

California Political Review

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

California Political Review

Winter 1994

A publication of the California Public Policy Foundation

Articles

Bilingual Education 18

Its legal mandate "sunset" seven years ago and hasn't been renewed. It's losing ground in teaching English to California's non-English-speaking students. The Little Hoover Commission called it 'inappropriate, unwarranted, not feasible, and counterproductive.' But it won't go away. Why? It's too valuable — politically, that is — to be allowed to die.

by Robert E. Rossier

Western CPAC 15

From October 22 to 24, 1993, western states conservatives met at Los Angeles's Biltmore Hotel for the first annual Western Conservative Political Action Conference, after two decades of successful Conservative Political Action Conferences — CPAC — in Washington, D.C. Herewith: A Sample.

Ruminations 23

An Earthquake Journal: Being Shot At "Without Effect"; An Address on Conservative Journalism

by John Kurzweil

Open Letter: The Grass Roots' Demise 9

by Ron Culver

Forum

An Interview with Steven W. Mosher 27

A Mother's Ordeal: China's One Child Policy

Departments

California Chronicles 3
Conservative Campus Journalism
Anne McFadden

Sacramento Spectator 8
Fool Me Twice?
A.P.C.

The Economy 10
What Presidents Don't Know Can Be Frightening
William R. Allen

The Protracted Conflict *At Home* 11
Encountering The Homeless in Santa Monica
Anne McFadden

The Working Press 13
1993's Top Stories You *Didn't* See
Tim W. Ferguson

Arts and Culture

Criticus 30
On Location, Without Tears, With Owen Barfield
G. B. Tennyson

Books 33
What Went Right With The 1980s, Richard B. McKenzie
Reviewed by Peter Hannaford

Popular Culture 34
The Hollywood Line On Witch Hunts
T. R. O'Neill-Lopez

Correspondence 2
Commentary 6
Notebook 7

STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, AND CIRCULATION, 10/15/93

Title: *California Political Review.* Frequency: Quarterly. Four issues published annually. Subscription price: $30.00 individuals, $15.00 students. Location of office of publication: 15456 Ventura Blvd., Ste. 300, Sherman Oaks, Los Angeles County, CA 91403-1671. Publisher's Mailing Address: P.O. Box 56671, Sherman Oaks, CA 91413-1671. Publisher: The California Public Policy Foundation, P.O. Box 56671, Sherman Oaks, CA 91413-1671. Editor: John Kurzweil, P.O. Box 56671, Sherman Oaks, CA 91413-1671. Managing Editor: Jan Kurzweil, P.O. Box 56671, Sherman Oaks, CA 91413-1671. Owner: The California Public Policy Foundation, P.O. Box 56671, Sherman Oaks, CA 91413-1671.

Extent and nature of circulation	Avg. no. copies each issue preceding 12 months	Actual no. copies of single issue pub. nearest to filing date
A. Total no. copies printed	3363	3350
B1. Paid circulation, Newstands	0	0
B2. Paid circulation, Mail Subscriptions	2020	2036
C. Total paid circulation	2020	2036
D. Free Distribution	621	570
E. Total distribution	2642	2606
F. Copies not distributed	721	744
G. Total	3363	3350

I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete. John Kurzweil, Editor

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Correspondence

'Tort Tax' Excellence

I want to compliment *CPR* for publishing a consistently excellent product. Mark S. Pulliam's "California's Crushing 'Tort Tax'" (*CPR*, Fall 1993) is the best treatment I've seen of the topic.

Robert Naylor
Sacramento

A Noble Experiment

This year's elections will test *California Political Review's* view, which I share, that Republicans win when they take strong conservative positions on the issues. Even in 1992, when Republicans were losing all over the place, conservatives like Bruce Herschensohn and Tom McClintock (who opposed liberal Democrat Congressman Anthony Beilenson) ran ahead of less conservative Republicans, including, especially, George Bush. Now, with President Clinton determined to inflict socialism upon us (with the help of the liberal Democrat Congress), a clear dividing line has been re-established between Republican and Democrat positions on the issues. A conservative Republican — one who wants to cut taxes, maintain a strong defense, streamline government, and uphold pro-family values — offers voters the clear choice that was not available in 1992.

In this regard, I have entered the race for Beilenson's 24th Congressional District seat. Registration in this district, which stretches from the mid-San Fernando Valley west to Thousand Oaks and Malibu, favors Democrats only 46-to-42 percent. I was born and raised here. I've worked in Congress so I know something about how it works, but I've also run a small business. I won't go to Washington with Beilenson's career-politician ignorance about how this country works. I think this campaign will help prove *CPR's* case that Republicans do best when they offer voters a clear conservative alternative.

Mark Boos Benhard
Agoura

California Civil Rights Initiative

When I first read the California Civil Rights Initiative (CCRI) ("California's Government-Sponsored Racism," Glynn Custred, *CPR Update*, Summer 1993), I thought, "At Last!" and went on to the next article. The second time, I thought, "Wait! What about that 3-letter word 'sex'?" which happens to be one of my top priority issues. Is it a good idea to mandate that we do it every day? For instance, isn't that what heterosexuality is basically all about? Isn't "equality" a term for geometry and math rather than our sexual dimorphism?

Finally, it dawned on me that the CCRI seems a re-hash of the earlier "equal rights amendment" (ERA) which we narrowly avoided. While I respect Glynn Custred's work and appreciate his position as vice president of the California Association of Scholars, I must say that I would be forced to vote against this initiative for the same reasons I objected to the ERA.

For one thing, in our country of ordered freedom, it seems to me that we should be able to discriminate on the basis of sex. In fact, how does one participate in self-government without wise, intelligent discrimination? Our problem these days seems to be that the electorate and their legislators are *not being discriminating enough*. More to the point, there are some things a man does best and some things a woman does best. Just for examples, whether one likes it or not and despite Hollywood revisionism, in most typical instances a male policeman, fireman, pilot, soldier, judge, preacher, or sailor is preferable to a female, mainly because of voice, body structure, authority, and nature, etc. On the other hand, the crucial jobs a woman does best are too numerous to mention, for the same reasons except substitute "nurturing" for "authority." Mind you, it's not that women cannot do most things men can and often better than many men; it's more that they cannot hope to compete in male roles with the best men, as George Gilder reminds us in *Men And Marriage*. Stereotypes are crucial to a healthy society and discrimination is essential to maintain them.

Although the ERA was not passed, "gender equality" laws already in place are leading our women more and more to try to act like men. Contrary to the tenets of feminism, it is not at all a case of "past exclusion." There were sound reasons for a natural, healthy division of labor before the industrial revolution but now that women are freer to pursue other interests, there is bound to be a period of adjustment while they find new, appropriate roles and, in turn, men and the marketplace learn how to accommodate. It should be a slow, organic change *à la* Burke, however, rather than a Jacobinian, emotivist deconstruction.

ALREADY, WITH brash abstractions like the "New Society," we have made the mistake of trying to mandate a change in our natures and the results are bizarre if not

(Please turn to page 5)

California Political Review

A publication of the California Public Policy Foundation

John Kurzweil *Editor & Publisher*
Jan Edwards *Managing Editor*
William R. Allen *Economics Correspondent*
Anne McFadden *California Chronicles*
Tim W. Ferguson *The Working Press*
T. R. O'Neill-Lopez *Popular Culture*
Gene Foley *Business Manager*
Paul McCauley *Business Services*
Charles Bell *Legal Advisor*

Editorial Board

Joseph Farah, Peter Hannaford, David Horowitz, Harold Johnson, Manuel S. Klausner, Herbert T. Krimmel, Tom McClintock, William Rusher, William Saracino, G. B. Tennyson

California Political Review is published quarterly by the California Public Policy Foundation. Send address changes, manuscripts, and Correspondence to: Editor, *California Political Review*, Post Office Box 56671, Sherman Oaks, CA 91413-1671. Unsolicited manuscripts should be accompanied by a stamped, self-addressed envelope. Signed articles express their authors' opinions and do not necessarily reflect the views of the California Public Policy Foundation which does not endorse or oppose candidates or intervene in any candidate election campaign. Unsigned editorials express the editors' opinions and not necessarily the views of the California Public Policy Foundation. Rates: $30 yearly (four issues of *California Political Review* plus four issues of *CPR Update*); students: $15 yearly. Outside U.S. add $4/year surface, $20/year airmail. *California Political Review* is copyrighted by the California Public Policy Foundation.

California Political Review is published quarterly for $30 per year by the California Public Policy Foundation, 15456 Ventura Blvd., Ste. 300, Sherman Oaks, CA 91403. Application to mail at second-class postage rates is pending at Van Nuys, California. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *CALIFORNIA POLITICAL REVIEW*, P.O. Box 56671, Sherman Oaks, CA 91413-1671.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

California Chronicles

Anne McFadden

California Chronicles welcomes information about conservative groups, publications, and activities — also news of liberal fraud, fatuousness, and foibles (especially appreciated). Contact: Anne McFadden, P.O. Box 783, Santa Monica, CA 90406-0783.

The Madison Center

Conservative Campus Journalism

The Madison Center for Educational Affairs, a Washington D.C.-based non-profit public policy institute, has been helping conservative college newspapers since 1979 when University of Chicago students appealed for assistance. The students' efforts to publish an "alternative" — conservative — paper for the university had been greeted not only with no funding (in contrast to the assistance routinely given to radicals) but with open hostility from the University. The Madison Center's small initial grant kept the students going and began a program that has now developed into Madison's Collegiate Network (CN) which coordinates more than 70 conservative student papers nationwide.

The Center helps the papers to acquire funding, to communicate and work with other conservative student papers, and provides them writing and production assistance, news sources, and several helpful Madison Center publications. The Center also provides internships with established publications and assistance to students after graduation. Five California student papers are presently affiliated with the Center. The Center also has a program for conservative student publications at Catholic schools. Contact: The Madison Center for Educational Affairs, 1155 15th St., N.W., Suite 712, Washington, D.C., 20005, 202/833-1801.

Physicians Advisory Council

Town Hall Meeting on Health Care

The California Physicians Advisory Council, in conjunction with Citizens Against Rationing Health, will be hosting a National Town Hall Meeting on Health Care. The event will be held Saturday, March 26, in Sacramento, California. Admission is free to the public. The event will bring physicians, businessmen, congressional representatives, and nationally known speakers together to discuss the issue of a national health care proposal. Contact: Mike Pettengill, Capitol Resource Institute, 4825 J St., Ste. 100, Sacramento, CA 95819, 916/731-5200, FAX: 916/731-5204.

National Empowerment Television

Sending a Message to Washington

Free Congress Foundation President Paul Weyrich has created a new national conservative television network called National Empowerment Television (NET). Since December 6, some 17 million Americans have been able to receive NET's "viewer interactive" programming via satellite or through local cable or UHF channels. In contrast to existing networks, the emphasis at NET is less on beaming messages out to the country and more on conveying them in toward the nation's capital. "For years," says Weyrich, "a megaphone has been pointed at the American people from Washington. We intend to turn that around and give a forum for the American people to express their views."

The network's "interactive" orientation appears to working. The first month's broadcasting prompted call-ins from viewers in 30 states. If the establishment consternation stirred up by Rush Limbaugh's "interactive" radio show is any indication, NET will soon have Congress huffing and puffing about the need for "balance," which is a liberal's way of introducing the topic of censorship so as not to wake up the ACLU.

Show hosts include Weyrich, columnist and TV commentator Robert Novak, and Georgia Republican Representative Newt Gingrich. Elected officials and national political figures will also appear to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

give voters at home an opportunity to discuss issues or legislation directly with their representatives or with such conservative leaders as Bill Bennett and Robert Bork.

Not all the programming will be political. NET will air shows with topics as varied as how to run a home business, family life in America, and home schooling. Two Saturday morning children's programs are also on the schedule. Additional programming will be provided by Accuracy in Media, Concerned Women for America, The Cato Institute, and the American Life League.

The more than 10 million Americans who receive their television directly by satellite can get NET's signal free and unscrambled via Galaxy 7, Transponder 20V. Customers of cable companies that do not offer NET should write to them requesting that it be added. For information about programming or on how to get NET on your local cable system, contact National Empowerment Television, 717 Second Street, N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002, 202/543-8425 *or* Capitol Resource Institute, 4825 J St., Ste. 100, Sacramento, CA 95819, 916/731-5200.

Proposition 174

Exit Poll Results

Luntz-Weber Research and Strategic Services has published a comprehensive examination of why Proposition 174 did not pass. Entitled "Lessons from California: Exit Poll Results of Proposition 174 and a Look at the Future of School Choice Initiatives," the report concludes that although the initiative was defeated, voters did not cast their ballots against school choice (only 18 percent of those polled opposed it in principle), but against *this* specific initiative. Voters were concerned about cost containment and adequate safeguards of schools. The survey found wide dissatisfaction with California's education establishment and a willingness to consider the issue of vouchers again in a different format. Contact: Luntz-Weber Research and Strategic Services, 1301 Connecticut Ave., NW, Washington D.C. 20036, 202/828-9720.

In Brief

Marvin's List (Money Accelerates Republican Victories in November) is a fund-raising PAC designed to support prolife Republican candidates for federal office. Their goal is to encourage people who are articulate and committed to pro-family issues to run for federal office by assisting them with crucial funds early in the campaign.

Contact: MARVIN's List, P.O. Box 344, Simi Valley, CA 93062-0344 .... The Women's Coalition is a conservative organization of men and women supporting women's rights with an emphasis on increasing conservative women's involvement in politics and the media. Contact: The Women's Coalition, P.O. Box 1028, Pasadena, CA 91102-1028, 818/568-9818 .... Capitol Research Center offers Frederica Mathewes-Green's book *Pregnancy Care Centers: A Labor of Love* on the work of center volunteers who assist women considering abortion. More than two thousand such centers exist in America, many in California. They offer women a real choice, making sure they know they need not commit abortion. Contact: Capital Research Center, 727 15th Street, NW, 8th Floor, Washington, D.C., 20005-1599, 202/737-5677 .... More PC Words from the updated version of the *Official Politically Correct Dictionary and Handbook* by Christopher Cerf. These terms are designed to avoid saying anything even remotely offensive by actually saying nothing at all. For example, LA's Riots were a "spontaneous display of community dissatisfaction with prevailing socio-economic conditions;" the looters were "nontraditional shoppers." A nontraditional shopper arrested for spontaneously displaying community dissatisfaction is correctly termed a correctional system "client" or "guest" residing "in a custody suite." One may also display one's opulent sensitivity by remembering to describe losing candidates as having been "electorally slighted" and our friends the homeless as "non-goal oriented members of society." CPR

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Correspondence

(Continued from page 2)

tragic. Girls get hurt on the gridiron and sue for damages. We have broken families, fatherless hoodlum children, and riots, feel-good promiscuity and 1.5 million babies lost a year, mothers off to war, virgin soldiers returning home pregnant, and female first captains in the USMC despite the availability of more qualified males, etc. All because we have lost the ability and courage to discriminate on the basis of sex.

In my opinion, the CCRI should have the word "sex" stricken or else it will be another step in the wrong direction and revive the fortunes of both the ERA and the Pat Schroeders of this land. Meanwhile, we should instead seek correction in the policy forum by overwhelming knowledge and exegesis, convincing the electorate, the media, and our leaders that affirmative action, though well intended, was *unwise policy* for reasons that should now be obvious. As the century's best thinkers from Hayek to Brandeis have warned us, it is the well-meaning, zealous lawmaker who is most to be feared, since creating new government bureaucracy to solve problems is no guarantee that our freedoms will remain protected. We should respect women as women and discriminate in their favor where appropriate but not against our natures, as Ludwig von Mises warned us in his *Socialism*. The problem with trying to legislate against bigotry, etc., is that it causes more problems than it solves and even creates new ones. We need not fear for our women; they're probably more durable and resilient than our men. Perhaps that's the problem and why we must not change the law so often.

Most important of all, let's not create even more work for our zealous lawyer friends. (I own up to being a retired prosecutor myself.) I hope that everyone will take a good, second look at the proposed initiative and consider amending it before it's too late.

W. Edward Chynoweth
Sanger

Glynn Custred responds:

The final text of the California Civil Rights Initiative, which was recently given an official title and summary by the state Attorney General, may go at least some of the way towards allaying Mr. Chynoweth's concerns that CCRI will move us even closer to the genderless, "homogenized" society he fears. The text as it now stands includes a provision stating that "Nothing in this section shall be interpreted as prohibiting classifications based on sex which are reasonably necessary to the normal operation of the state's system of public employment or public contracting." It is arguable that this provision was unnecessary, since state and federal courts have generally been willing to make narrow exceptions to anti-sex discrimination statutes; we decided, nevertheless, to add it as a precaution. The language is taken from the bona-fide occupational qualification clause of Title VII of the U.S. Civil Rights Act.

The exception contained in our provision is likely to be interpreted very narrowly by the courts, and we intend it to be so interpreted. It is appropriate, therefore, to ask whether it goes far enough.

So far as the purely legal or constitutional question is concerned, it is essential to keep in mind that an amendment of the California Constitution must be consistent with federal statutes and judicial interpretations of the U.S. Constitution. As long as the federal

(Please turn to page 35)

Dan Rather Praised It...
Jesse Jackson Cried over It...
The New York Times Lauded It...
It Was Nominated for an Oscar...

But, It Was a Lie.

And The New York Guardian was the first to expose the lie of the "Liberators."

The Media: Re-Writing Our History

When the taxpayer-funded PBS produced the documentary "Liberators" which purported to show that black combat units had liberated the concentration camps of Dachau and Buchenwald during World War II, the *New York Guardian* was the first to expose the "Liberators" lie. After the *Guardian* story, PBS took the unprecedented action of withdrawing the documentary, and a recent report by PBS itself confirmed the original *Guardian* stories.

E.G. McConnell, a Purple Heart-winning African-American veteran who served in the All Black 761st Tank Battalion, and who appeared in the "Liberators" said, "The *Guardian* provided the first, and most thorough news account of the film's inaccuracies, while accurately publicizing the true heroism of my unit and the many African-Americans who served and died for their country."

Unafraid to Tell The Truth

The New York Guardian is a national newsmonthly, with lively, investigative reports that have earned it the respect of opinion-makers around the world. Noted author and commentator, British historian Paul Johnson called the *Guardian* an "admirable monthly dedicated to publicizing the vices of the American political establishment."

A Forum of Ideas

Look Whose Articles Have Appeared In the Guardian:
Ronald Reagan • Dr. Bernard Nathanson • Reed Irvine
Jack Kemp • Milton Friedman • Paul Johnson • Rush Limbaugh
Ed Koch • Malachi Martin • Cardinal O'Connor
Dr. James Dobson • Paul Johnson • Lev Navrozov
Caspar Weinberger • Herb London • Joe Farah

Subscribe and receive Free our report *Media Lies*, as reported in the pages of *The New York Guardian*. Read exclusives like

- **The "Liberators" Exposed**
- **AIDS and the Dental Office**
- **The Rainbow Curriculum Uncensored**
- **Revelations on Randy Shilt's Best Seller**

Subscribe Today — Money Back Guarantee

❑ Rush me the free report ***Media Lies*** and begin my subscription today (Cancel at an time and receive a refund for all unsent issues).

Check One: ❑ $27 for one year (12 issues) ❑ $45 for two years

PAYMENT METHOD: ❑ Check or money Order (U.S.funds) Payable to New York Guardian
❑ VISA ❑ MasterCard
Card #
Exp. Date ___/___ Cardholder signature
Name:
Address:
City: State: Zip:

Remit to: The NY Guardian;
P.O.Box 175, New Hyde Park, NY 11040

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Commentary

Barnum Was Right

SAN JOSE Assemblyman Chuck Quackenbush must bring to about ten thousand the number of Republican "moderates" taken to the cleaners by liberal Democrats with whom the hapless mods tried to form alliances. Last year, Quackenbush courted the California Teachers Association as the sole GOP legislator to campaign actively against Parental Choice in Education — Proposition 174. He appeared, beaming, alongside his new-found friends on platforms around the state, but now, after the election, the romance is over. Assemblyman Q will be opposed for re-election in '94 by a former head of CTA. Guess which candidate will receive the fat CTA campaign checks? This is no "safe seat," so the Assemblyman will have to scramble for re-election. No doubt he's bitter.

This pattern is so well-established, it's beginning to resemble one of those Laurel and Hardy comedy bits where the victim sits placidly still while Stan fills his hat with beer, Ollie slowly lifts the wedding cake, and then the cake is dropped and the hat gently placed on the poor chump's head. How do they get these guys to go along with the same old gag, time and again, always the same come-on, always the same ending? Reagan in '82 and '86, Bush in '90, Wilson more or less every day, Quackenbush in '93 — perhaps if someone began handing out Charlie Brown/Lucy Football-Kick-Off Sucker Trophies these dim bulbs might start to brighten, but don't bet on it.

Ever More Curious

EVIDENCE OF legal ethics is becoming increasingly difficult to find in the actions of Pat Nolan's prosecutors, not that it was ever in ample supply. The case against Nolan hinges on the charge that he exchanged votes for campaign contributions on an FBI-concocted bogus bill, even though his votes were cast *before* (in one case, *two years* before) any campaign donations were received. Federal agents have destroyed careers, businesses, and marriages in a ruthless campaign of threats and harassment to coerce anti-Nolan testimony from potential witnesses. Nolan's former aid, Karen Watson, was offered a choice between a long prison term (by the time you get out, your young child will be grown and gone and won't remember you) and leniency, all depending on how actively she helped prosecutors get Nolan. If she would just testify that he instructed her to demand contribution promises from potential donors, her life might still stand some chance of being put back together. We suppose it's old-fashioned, but why wasn't she asked just to tell the truth?

Leaving aside the government's Gestapo tactics, the whole circus, now having dragged on more than four years, reeks of desperate prosecutors who have no case, who have wasted vast resources wreaking havoc far and wide on innocent citizens, and who now face failure and humiliation if they can't manufacture some kind of victory. By their tactics, they've made this not a matter of justice, but of *them* against *Nolan*. The public interest, as usual, was forgotten long ago.

Now, a *U.S. Attorney*, Democrat Adam Schiff, is running for Nolan's Assembly seat. A political consulting firm, Skelton, Grover & Associates, whose clients include Tom Hayden, sent out a memo saying the search for the right candidate to oppose Nolan "is over. That candidate is Assistant U.S. Attorney Adam Schiff." It couldn't be that political machinations are afoot in the federal prosecutors ranks, could it? Another former U.S. Attorney, Tom Umberg, used a highly-publicized federal investigation of Assemblyman Curt Pringle to launch a campaign for Pringle's seat in 1990. Now, Umberg is listed as one of Mr. Schiff's first endorsers.

But Schiff may have legal troubles of his own. While the memo describing him as a "candidate" was dated November 24, he did not resign from his prosecutor's job until December 14. Did Schiff violate the law against federal employees engaging in political activity? Regarding the memo: what did Schiff know and when did he know it?

The Nolan debacle grows ever more curious. One wonders if justice or the truth *ever* had anything to do with it.

Follow the Money

by Leon McKinney

I'D LIKE to add to *CPR Update's* "Post-Mortem on 174" (Fall 1993). The claim you refuted that Proposition 174 lost because Republicans are "happy with their kids' school systems" and therefore don't want school choice *is* dead wrong. CTA's slick ads defeated 174 with three Big Lies:

1) That 174 would "subsidize rich families" because the $2,600 voucher "is not enough to fund a private school education for low-income families ... the average private school tuition is between $6,500 and $7,000 per year." According to *The Statistical Abstract of the United States*, for the 1990-91 school year, 29 percent of private school students paid less than $1,000 tuition, 49 percent paid from $1,000 to $2,500, and only 21 percent paid more than $2,500. A 1991 survey by the Association of Christian Schools International of parochial K-12 schools in Southern California and Nevada produced average yearly tuitions ranging from $2,000 for K-8 schools to $3,000 for high schools.

2) CTA head Del Weber's claim that 174 had "no curriculum standards" is another lie. California Education Code Sections 48222, 51202, 51210, 51220, and 51225.3 mandate that private school students, including those in new schools under 174, must complete specific course requirements for graduation in English, mathematics, social scienc-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

es, science, fine arts, health, and physical education. The California League of Women Voters' president fretted that under 174 "anyone can open a school, even someone without an educational degree" and called this a "formula" for "massive fraud and abuse." Too much has been written about Schools of Education for anyone to be much impressed by education degrees. As for "fraud and abuse," the place to begin that discussion is the case of Bill Honig.

3) What really worried voters, especially those suburban Republicans, was the Big Lie that 174 would "devastate public schools" financially, forcing "massive tax increases" because $2,600 would go to students now in private schools who currently receive nothing. But this ignores the enormous subsidy that California's 550,000 private school students, or, really, their taxpaying parents, now provide to government schools. By obtaining their education outside the system, these more than one-half million students each save the state system $5,200 annually, a total of $2.86 *billion* per year. CTA pretends these students have no claim on state education dollars, but would fight to the death any proposal that their parents be exempted from paying education taxes. CTA arithmetic counts on spending their tax dollars, but ignores the responsibility those dollars place on the state to provide education in return. Proposition 174 would have reduced this unfair subsidy by half, leaving government schools *still* saving $1.43 billion, or $2,600, per private school student, every year.

OF COURSE, CTA *is* a labor union and, as such, tends to bypass such matters of basic fairness as not relevant to its essential mission. Also, it is true the initial shock of having to fulfill even *half* its responsibility to these students in private schools would have traumatized the government system, long accustomed, as it is, to receiving a free

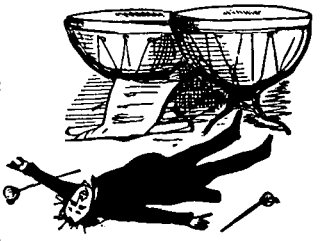
Notebook

An Air-Bag's Farewell

DAVID ROBERTI is wrapping up his state Senate career with a furious, final round of his trademark name-calling, complaining that the recall measure against him is the work of "gun fanatics." Over the years, people who disagree with Poppa Robby have grown accustomed to his calling them "fat cats," "fanatics," and other such pejoratives while ignoring the substance of their disagreement. His wide command of cliché put-downs has earned the old boy wide respect among the state's political writers who like to feed their readers quick bombast, leaving the serious stuff to, well, others .... San Luis Obispo Assemblywoman **Andrea Seastrand** has announced she will run for California's 22nd congressional district (Santa Barbara-area) seat being vacated by Representative **Michael Huffington** who is running for **Dianne Feinstein's** U.S. senate seat this year. A strong conservative, Seastrand will probably go to Congress if she wins the primary in this heavily Republican district .... A genuinely diverse group of women has come together to form a new national organization, **The Women's Freedom Network.** In unmistakable contrast to the politically correct conformity of radical-left feminist organizations, WFN's national governing board includes what the group's newsletter describes as "libertarians, liberals and communitarians and conservatives."

AMONG ITS members are: **Jeane J. Kirkpatrick,** syndicated columnist **Mona Charen,** *Reason* editor **Virginia Postrel,** Pacific Research Institute President **Sally Pipes,** scholar and journalist **Jean Bethke Elshtain,** and syndicated columnist **Joanne Jacobs.** The unifying thread holding all this diversity together appears to be a shared distaste for the radicals' denial of individual responsibility, of women portrayed as sheep in need of a protective state shepherd: "creeping paternalism ... under a feminist guise," as WFN's "Statement of Purpose" puts it.

This *could* prove to be a potent group, if it can hold together, which may not be easy. Hints of tension pop up here and there in its official pronouncements, for instance: "We agree that greater flexibility of sex roles enriches our lives, but this does not mean that we look down on women who find fulfillment in the traditional female role." This patronizing attempt to paper over two diametrically opposed positions is asking for trouble. It treats the first as a serious proposition, indulgently dismissing the second, which is stated not as an idea or argument, but as a "preference" for a "traditional role" that one does not debate intelligently but only does or does not "look down on." Such serious disagreements cannot be reconciled and, given the group's apparent objectives, don't have to be. Why not limit the "Statement" to points on which the members agree? Self-inflicted wounds can destroy it. (*WFN*, 4410 Massachusetts Ave Ste 179, NW, Washington DC 20016.



THE **Inland Empire Conservative Coalition** will follow up its highly successful 1993 meeting with a second Annual Conference March 19, 1994, at the Red Lion Inn in Ontario. Issues to be debated include crime and health care. Good opportunity for, forgive us: networking. (Write: IECC, PO Box 2924, Riverside, CA 92516, or call: **Kristine Anderson** at 619/481-2247) .... Orange County Assemblyman **Tom Umberg** has been carpet-bombed by the *OC Register* over his wiggling and posturing between Sacramento and Garden Grove on issues from anti-crime legislation to illegal aliens. A loyal **Willie Brown** manservant in the capitol, Umberg is a master at ladling-out conservative-sounding applesauce back in the district. Things began to unravel when he fed his standard conservative line to two LA-Orange County radio talk show hosts who later became furious upon finding they'd been hoodwinked. Their anger, vented over Southern California's air waves, stimulated *Register* editorialists who have since thumped Umberg with a series of disrespectful opinion pieces, one bearing the simple headline: "What a jerk!" CPR

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Sacramento Spectator

Fool Me Twice?

WITH THE occurrence of another natural calamity, the quaint aboriginal tribe located in Sacramento called Legislators are preparing to respond in the only way they know — with a ritual sacrifice of taxpayers. This small but powerful group of natives — there are only 120 of them in the entire state — periodically disembowel innocent taxpayers in a tribute to their ancient god, Big Government.

When conservative anthropologists pointed out to the tribe leaders, Chief Brown and Bwana Roberti, that past taxpayer sacrifices have had no effect on the appetite of Big Government, the rest of the tribe went into a frenzy of spear rattling, shield waving, and wild chanting of their protective mantra, "more taxes, more taxes, decade of greed begone, feed Big Government."

The above unfortunately is about the level of debate that's been allowed in the Legislature about responding to the recent earthquakes. It has been treated as a "given" by the Democrats and their media megaphones that the only reasonable response is a "temporary" sales tax increase. They even manage to say "temporary" with a straight face.

The last "temporary" sales tax increase is of course now part of the state constitution! We're promised that this one will be different. Scouts' honor! Brings to mind the resistant maiden being promised respect and love "in the morning" by her date. It will be interesting to see if Governor Wilson and his small group of "good government" followers among GOP legislators allow themselves to be seduced once again ... leaving the taxpayers with the remorseful morning after.

"BACKPEDDLER OF the month" award for January goes to state Senator Cathie Wright. Wright, running for lieutenant governor, is furiously trying to re-establish her conservative credentials. During her last years in the Assembly, Wright decided to make her own separate accommodation with Speaker Willie Brown, and became his eyes and ears in the GOP caucus. It got so bad that Republican staff used to run a pool on how many minutes would pass after GOP caucus meetings before Wright would be seen entering Brown's office.

Since her election to the state Senate in 1992, Wright has continued her estrangement from the conservative bloc in Sacramento. She has aligned herself with Pete Wilson and other "big tent" types in internal GOP fights. She has made no secret of her contempt for us "old fashioned reactionaries."

Well, it seems that she's decided she needs us old reactionaries in her bid for statewide office. The governor's office, after a brief romance with her candidacy, is searching elsewhere (Orange County Sheriff Brad Gates is often mentioned). Statewide conservative leaders, who had started to coalesce around Sonny Bono, began also searching for a candidate after Bono opted instead to run for Congress. Wright, meanwhile, is busy telling conservative leaders that the past has all been a "misunderstanding." Her actions were based on problems she had with "personalities" among the conservative leadership in Sacramento, and not an abandonment of basic conservative principle.

Her protestations are about as convincing as Willie Brown's and David Roberti's promise that a sales tax increase will be only temporary. Both of these situations remind your *Spectator* of the old saw "fool me once, shame on you; fool me twice, shame on me." Roberti, Brown, and Wright have all fooled us once. That ought to be enough.

I'LL LEAVE you with two delicious bits of gossip to ponder. The long simmering stylistic differences between Pete Wilson and Dan Lungren are close to the boiling point. Seems Wilson's staff asked for an "advance" look at Lungren's legislative package. Oddly enough, a week later Wilson's anti-crime legislative package contained *every one* of Lungren's proposals, many of which hadn't been introduced yet! The A.G. was not amused ... peace talks are going on.

The other item concerns the Clinton Administration's rumored choice for U.S. marshall for California. He is J. Enamoto, who previously served as director of Corrections for Jerry Brown. Enamoto was so bumbling in that job and such a bleeding heart that Brown had to fire him in the face of a unanimous resignation threat by every prison warden in the state. This might be fine by Arkansas standards, but law enforcement professionals in California of all political stripes are appalled ... perhaps appalled enough to make a major stink if this appointment comes through. Stay tuned.

—A.P.C.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ride. It might even have been pushed to the extreme of including some thought of efficiency in its spending plans.

But why should this concern the rest of us? The real interest of ordinary Californians is in receiving the *best* possible education for *all* our children at the *lowest* possible cost. If private schools educate better for half the money, aren't we better off for every student that switches from the government to the private system? Ignoring the savings represented by students *already* in private schools, as CTA prefers to do, misled voters into thinking "education" would lose out under 174. The truth is: only schools doing a poor job would lose. Their pupils could move on to good schools — private or government — which would be rewarded for their quality.

Of course, few students would actually have to go anywhere. The *possibility* that they *might* go would, in most cases, be sufficient to induce government schools to deliver a better education for less money. And *that* would benefit even men like Del Weber. He might even recall why he became a teacher in the first place.

In any event, California is already going broke under the weight of government's wasteful education monopoly. But over the next eight years, accommodating California's projected 1.8 million *new* students will require a brand-new 600-student school every day through the year 2000. According to the state Legislative Analyst, this will cost $12,000 per classroom seat. Suppose this is financed through a 20-year bond at seven percent: that adds an additional $1,133 for each new student to the $5,200 we already pay — $6,333 annually per new pupil. Under 174, any of these new students that chose a $2,600 voucher would have saved the state $3,733 per year. The supposed "savings" achieved by defeating 174 will prove illusory soon enough. CPR

Open Letter

Ron Culver

As an elected Central Committee member of the 40th Assembly District in the San Fernando Valley, over the past few years I have watched as the Los Angeles County Republican Party has been virtually ignored by leaders who should know better. The Los Angeles Republican Central Committee is the largest and most influential in the state. It fields the most delegates to state conventions and *has* been instrumental in formulating policy, not only in California, but at the national conventions as well. But this is no longer true. The Central Committee barely exists in Los Angeles. Often as few as 20 or 30 people bother to show up for its monthly meetings. A few years ago, its yearly budget ran in the millions of dollars — the past two years the yearly total has been barely $200,000. More significantly, it has been unable to accomplish its primary functions: precinct organization and informing local Party members of its activities.

In the past, resources were concentrated at the local and precinct level. Now, that money is concentrated at the state Party level and given directly to candidates.

As a local Assembly District Precinct Chairman, it has been my responsibility — with no funds or support from Republican leaders or organizations, including the Los Angeles Republican Central Committee itself — to put together an election precinct operation. Starting with only $300 passed on from the previous long time members finally ousted by anti-incumbent voters, I began in a loaned apartment as our "Republican office" with little money, no phones, no supplies, and no list of volunteers.

The DEMOCRATS have a well-staffed and highly visible San Fernando Valley office that serves each Assembly, Senate, and Congressional District. Interestingly, only two telephone numbers are listed in the Valley directory for the Republican Party: the state Party headquarters in Burbank, and the 40th A.D., which rings at my home. Since the 40th A.D. is listed first, I get many of the calls from people wanting to contact "The Republican Party." But, mostly the calls are from those who are angry at the Party or some Republican. Almost no calls come from people who understand the function of a Central Committee, or who are willing to help carry the day at election time.

Our OPPONENTS understand the Central Committee's importance because they were beaten "at the grass roots" for years. They have out-spent us yearly at that level for the past 10 years.

Fortunately this is not the case in all districts in the state. Some are healthy, but the majority are not. The county precinct chairman for Los Angeles County, Carl Taylor, attended our last 40th A.D. meeting and told us we were doing more than most districts in the county. That was scary news to me because we are virtually ineffective compared to what we ought to be doing.

I'm firmly convinced, from where the rubber meets the road in campaigns, that people need to be educated about this historic and fundamental aspect of our political process — and how it has been gutted. CPR

California Political Review *encourages letters to the editor in response to Mr. Culver's Open Letter.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ride. It might even have been pushed to the extreme of including some thought of efficiency in its spending plans.

But why should this concern the rest of us? The real interest of ordinary Californians is in receiving the *best* possible education for *all* our children at the *lowest* possible cost. If private schools educate better for half the money, aren't we better off for every student that switches from the government to the private system? Ignoring the savings represented by students *already* in private schools, as CTA prefers to do, misled voters into thinking "education" would lose out under 174. The truth is: only schools doing a poor job would lose. Their pupils could move on to good schools — private or government — which would be rewarded for their quality.

Of course, few students would actually have to go anywhere. The *possibility* that they *might* go would, in most cases, be sufficient to induce government schools to deliver a better education for less money. And *that* would benefit even men like Del Weber. He might even recall why he became a teacher in the first place.

In any event, California is already going broke under the weight of government's wasteful education monopoly. But over the next eight years, accommodating California's projected 1.8 million *new* students will require a brand-new 600-student school every day through the year 2000. According to the state Legislative Analyst, this will cost $12,000 per classroom seat. Suppose this is financed through a 20-year bond at seven percent: that adds an additional $1,133 for each new student to the $5,200 we already pay — $6,333 annually per new pupil. Under 174, any of these new students that chose a $2,600 voucher would have saved the state $3,733 per year. The supposed "savings" achieved by defeating 174 will prove illusory soon enough. CPR

Open Letter

Ron Culver

As an elected Central Committee member of the 40th Assembly District in the San Fernando Valley, over the past few years I have watched as the Los Angeles County Republican Party has been virtually ignored by leaders who should know better. The Los Angeles Republican Central Committee is the largest and most influential in the state. It fields the most delegates to state conventions and *has* been instrumental in formulating policy, not only in California, but at the national conventions as well. But this is no longer true. The Central Committee barely exists in Los Angeles. Often as few as 20 or 30 people bother to show up for its monthly meetings. A few years ago, its yearly budget ran in the millions of dollars — the past two years the yearly total has been barely $200,000. More significantly, it has been unable to accomplish its primary functions: precinct organization and informing local Party members of its activities.

In the past, resources were concentrated at the local and precinct level. Now, that money is concentrated at the state Party level and given directly to candidates.

As a local Assembly District Precinct Chairman, it has been my responsibility — with no funds or support from Republican leaders or organizations, including the Los Angeles Republican Central Committee itself — to put together an election precinct operation. Starting with only $300 passed on from the previous long time members finally ousted by anti-incumbent voters, I began in a loaned apartment as our "Republican office" with little money, no phones, no supplies, and no list of volunteers.

The DEMOCRATS have a well-staffed and highly visible San Fernando Valley office that serves each Assembly, Senate, and Congressional District. Interestingly, only two telephone numbers are listed in the Valley directory for the Republican Party: the state Party headquarters in Burbank, and the 40th A.D., which rings at my home. Since the 40th A.D. is listed first, I get many of the calls from people wanting to contact "The Republican Party." But, mostly the calls are from those who are angry at the Party or some Republican. Almost no calls come from people who understand the function of a Central Committee, or who are willing to help carry the day at election time.

Our OPPONENTS understand the Central Committee's importance because they were beaten "at the grass roots" for years. They have out-spent us yearly at that level for the past 10 years.

Fortunately this is not the case in all districts in the state. Some are healthy, but the majority are not. The county precinct chairman for Los Angeles County, Carl Taylor, attended our last 40th A.D. meeting and told us we were doing more than most districts in the county. That was scary news to me because we are virtually ineffective compared to what we ought to be doing.

I'm firmly convinced, from where the rubber meets the road in campaigns, that people need to be educated about this historic and fundamental aspect of our political process — and how it has been gutted. CPR

California Political Review *encourages letters to the editor in response to Mr. Culver's Open Letter.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Economy

A Fine Jungle Instinct

What Presidents Don't Know Can Be Frightening

William R. Allen

HISTORY NEVER exactly repeats itself. But all major events have precedents of some significance. And it is commonly the case that positions, problems, and proposals of today can be studied to advantage by consideration of what went right or wrong, what worked well or poorly, in similar issues in a different time. We can be more dispassionate and less agitated in reviewing old conflicts than in scrambling to throw together today's battle plan and tactics. Last fall, there were back-to-back instances of significant heartburn involving the airline industry. In one, American Airlines became embroiled in a strike by its flight attendants; in the other, the government of Los Angeles took on the entire industry in raising landing fees at the city's airport.

In both cases — the internal conflict within a company and the face-off between the industry and a local government — the federal government chose to intervene. Presidential arm-twisting led to a binding arbitration procedure to resolve the strike, much to the delight of the union; and the industry was pressured by the Department of Transportation to submit, at least for a time, to a tripling of landing fees.

Were the two extraordinary interventions — or either of them — desirable? Even if possibly strategically defensible, were they perhaps tactically precipitate? Were all seeming gains greater than all imputable costs? Indeed, just what and how great were the gains received by whom, and what variety of long-term and short-term costs of what magnitude were involved? Might more propitious procedures have been available? The issue has its subtleties and complexities. Even *The New York Times,* hardly a bastion of defense of entrepreneurship and private property, wondered in the case of the strike if "a president who intervenes too often will dull the incentive of labor and management to settle disputes on their own."

Consider a third case, more than 30 years ago, involving a challenge by the president to an industry. It was in detail a different situation. But it provides a convenient opportunity to consider in relative calm and perspective the general proposition that, in order to manage well the might of government, it is advisable to have Leviathan contained and guided by philosophical profundity and analytically sound strategy.

In spring 1962, the serenity of Camelot was disturbed by dramatic confrontation between Big Business and Big Government. President John Kennedy was worried about inflation and the balance of international payments. And apparently he took seriously the faulty "cost-push" notion of inflation. Labor union contracts with steel companies had just been renegotiated. This was the second increase in steel-worker wages since steel prices had been raised four years earlier, but the president believed, seemingly with reason, that steel management would hold product prices constant.

The president was surprised to be informed in April 1962 that U.S. Steel — whether or not shrewdly by business criteria — would be raising its prices about four percent. Several other steel companies quickly made similar announcements. Kennedy was furious, feeling that he had been insulted and claiming that his economic program of noninflationary growth had been endangered. He said that he was finally convinced that, as his father had told him long before, businessmen are not nice.

The president had no authority to order the steel companies to rescind the price increases. But, with a fine jungle instinct for indirect uses of power, he put such pressure on the companies — through public denunciation and threats of government retribution — that the business managers backed off in confusion and fear.

WHAT ARE we to make of the remarkable episode? The president's diagnosis of the economic situation may be deemed peculiar. While inflation can never be finally killed, it was then quiescent, and had been for a decade. The basis of inflation is excessive expansion of the amount of money, and money, like prices, had long been increasing at less than two percent annually. At the same time, the balance of payments, GNP, and employment were steadily performing well in the difficult post-war, cold-war period.

But the major cause of wonderment was not faulty economic diagnosis, egregious as that deficiency was. Rather, the problem was faulty presumption of the economic role of the president and of government generally. The young president supposed the great economy of a great nation is properly

William R. Allen is a professor of economics at UCLA.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

subject to his personal price controls. His supposition of legitimate bashing of businesses on the basis of idiosyncratic concepts of "the public interest" — implementing autocratic policy by blackjack — was wholly improper by both analytic and philosophic criteria.

It is sobering when a man has to become president of the United States in order to learn that some people can sometimes be naughty. It is frightening when a man who has become president never learns the essence of a society of private rights to use of property, market-determined prices, and severely constrained government. And it would be discouraging to see the phenomenon repeated at this advanced date. CPR

The Protracted Conflict *At Home*

Helping The Homeless?

Some Memorable Encounters in Once Beautiful Santa Monica

Anne McFadden

WHEN I moved to Santa Monica in 1986, I had mixed feelings about the homeless. Having lived in New York City, I certainly knew of their existence. I had heard that their circumstances were largely the result of the cruel policies of the Reagan administration, that they were tragic people deserving compassion and financial compensation. I tended to agree and was inclined to give to people who seemed to be in need. Since my arrival, I have had cause to reconsider my opinions.

One of the reasons I moved to Santa Monica was that I would not need a car. I can easily walk to the beach, to stores, to the library, and to a church. Unfortunately, as I soon discovered, walking around the city would be not only disagreeable, but actually dangerous. Early on, while waiting at bus stops, I was attacked twice by homeless men in broad daylight. The second attack, more violent than the first, was propitiously curtailed when a man in a nearby store came out and chased the man away with a hammer.

After that, I learned to drive and purchased a car, but found that I was still not safe. I was attacked twice. The first time, I was chased, in my car, by a group of young homeless men. Fortunately I saw them running up to the car and I was able to get away quickly.

The second attack was more problematic. I saw a man wandering in the middle of the street and I foolishly slowed down to avoid hitting him. He came over and tried to smash my windshield. I tried to maneuver around him but he persisted in hammering away at my car windows. I was forced to enter the lanes for oncoming traffic to evade him. Thank God no cars were coming.

Some of my most memorable encounters with the homeless have occurred in my parish church, Saint Monica's. I used to attend an early Mass, but no more. The small number of people around at the early hour encourages the beggars' aggressiveness. I was often verbally harassed, usually by people "requesting" financial assistance in various states of drunkenness or drug-induced stupor. I remember once coming out of church and running into a young man who shouted: "You have to give money to me! God told you to!"

"He did not!" I angrily shot back. There's California *chutzpah* for you. I don't remember beggars in New York using divine revelations to coerce money out of people.

Another time, a young man I felt sorry for asked for money and I gave him a dollar. He began to argue. One dollar wasn't enough. He wanted more. When I tried to point out that he was in no position to insist, he threatened me with bodily harm. (His exact words are unprintable, but that was the general idea.) I now attend Mass at noon when more people are around. Not that that's ended my encounters with the homeless at church. Indeed, I have learned to pray while shutting out a rich cacophony: one-sided, imaginary conversations, hysterical laughing, swearing, all accompanied by bizarre physical gyrations and — one of their favorite pastimes — lighting every candle near the poor box, without, of course, leaving the customary donation.

THE LEVEL of harassment at Saint Monica's eventually became intolerable. Parishioners had to walk a gauntlet of beggars aggressively demanding money. After a woman was attacked and injured outside church, the pastor asked that people stop giving money directly to the homeless and instead to donate to the many agencies providing help in the city. This slowed the homeless traffic somewhat but has not eliminated the problem.

Abuse from the homeless has become a part of everyday life in Santa Monica to a degree that may seem un-

Anne McFadden is editor of California Political Review's *California Chronicles.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

believable to people in other cities. Just trying to walk around Santa Monica to accomplish routine errands, I have been continuously harassed, cursed, spit on, and threatened. Restaurants and businesses suffer. Abusive behavior by homeless people on the premises of one landmark Santa Monica restaurant — the Pioneer Boulangerie — recently forced it to close permanently.

BUT WITHOUT doubt, the most abused victims of the homeless are Santa Monica's once beautiful parks. It is technically illegal for people to live in the parks but the law is never enforced. So the homeless have moved in, claiming them as their own, destroying them and making them unsafe for hapless citizens venturing in with the mistaken belief they exist for everyone to enjoy.

For example, I have lived near Lincoln Park since I came to Santa Monica, but never dared enter it until recently. Homeless are sprawled all around the park's fringes; inside the situation is worse. But Lincoln Park happens to be my polling place. When I voted last November, I decided to see what the place actually looks like. Readers used to proceeding blithely to the polls in peace may think it fantastic, but in Lincoln Park on election day police are all over, providing an armed escort past the homeless for people who come to exercise their right to vote. Even with police present, many people, especially the elderly, are afraid to come in and vote. I asked a park employee if it were safe for me to walk around. He said the police had just taken a 10-inch knife from a homeless man. He advised me not to enter and said I could do so only at my own risk.

But I was determined to see the park. Keeping my eyes on the police, I began to stroll around slowly. What I saw is beyond description. I could readily see how lovely the park had once been, particularly an old Spanish-style building called Miles Playhouse, designated for community use. Now the place was horrendous. People, mostly men of various races, lay camped around the building and grounds in various states of disarray, some lounging comfortably, others clearly intoxicated. The area was filthy and the walls and grounds were stained with urine and excrement. Most of the men appeared to be in good health; some were young. They watched me smugly, complacent and indolent, occasionally leering and calling out obscenities. I continued to walk around taking everything in, overwhelmed by the desecration of public land, noting the marked discrepancy between the lovely old building and the squalor surrounding it.

Recently the city made renovations at the park and I took advantage of the presence of workmen to return to take pictures. Unfortunately, a group of homeless saw me and threatened violence. A man told me this was his home and that I had no right to enter or take pictures. A young black woman began abusing me verbally. I was outnumbered and the group was growing increasingly malevolent, so I decided to leave. But the woman planted herself in my way, preventing me from going, while she screamed in my face and began to push and strike me. I told her if she didn't stop hitting me I would press assault charges. This seemed to calm her. She finally told me to "get the f*** out of the park" and let me pass.

Later I told the police what had happened. The female officer was sympathetic; the police are well aware of the abuse by the homeless in the park. She asked if I wanted to press charges against the woman but I declined. I knew that, without a residence or job, she would be difficult to find and even if she *could* be found and convicted on some misdemeanor charge, she would undoubtedly be let off, probably using her homeless condition to gain sympathy. In Santa Monica, the homeless are sacred cows, not to be disturbed no matter what they do.

Even after years of living here I still find it inconceivable that the city has been abandoned to one segment of the population, and the least productive segment at that. Tax-paying, law abiding citizens have been forced to become virtual hostages; too afraid to leave their homes or to enter city property their own dollars maintain but which is now reserved solely for use by the homeless. And it is almost beyond belief that the people are forced to endure, as a routine occurrence, physical and verbal abuse unimaginable in most parts of our country.

It is true that many groups compose the "homeless," but it is also important to sort them out and discern the reason for their homeless condition. Some are elderly, disabled, or mentally ill; through no fault of their own they are unable to support themselves. They deserve compassion and help. Others are temporarily down on their luck, out of work or overwhelmed with personal problems, and can benefit from the many agencies established to help them *because* they truly want to make their lives better.

But there are also many who are homeless because they do not want to work or take responsibility for themselves or their actions. They do not want to face the consequences of their decisions. They prefer to demand aggressively that others take care of them.

Being homeless is an unfortunate and undesirable condition, not an "alternative lifestyle." It certainly is not in society's interest to help deceive the homeless about the full effects of their choices. But this is exactly what has been done in Santa Monica with results as predictable as they are tragic. It is no wonder the homeless flock there, knowing they may behave in any lawless or irresponsible manner, and get away with it.

WHY SHOULD they make the strenuous effort to stop drug or alcohol abuse when the city provides for them quite nicely to continue as they are? Why should they care about the pain they inflict upon other people stupid

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

enough to work for a living? Why would they work for a low wage, entry-level job when they can earn much more, tax free, from begging?

I remember a man who begged money for food. When I told him of the various places around the city that provide free food he assured me he knew all about them. He said he didn't like the food they served and wanted money to eat in a restaurant of his choice. This is a man utterly cut off from reality as it is lived by real people in the real world, many of whom work hard but still can't afford to eat out. He is a symbol of the cowardly delusions of a decadent age, a symbol of "progressive," "compassionate" government, a pathetic symbol conveying the truth about a once-beautiful place called Santa Monica. CPR

The Working Press

Top Stories You *Didn't* See

A Few of 1993's Hot Scoops 'Censored' by the Major Media

Tim W. Ferguson

AT THE end of each year, a left-wing outfit releases its list of the top stories "censored" by the national media, which oblige by giving bountiful coverage to this roster of supposed stiflings.

In this spirit, consider these misses by the California press in 1993:

• Whatever happened to the "conservative" Richard Riordan? Actually, not all reporters fell into the habit of calling him that during the L.A. mayoral campaign (the *Los Angeles Times* Sunday mag had a well-textured piece on his ambiguities) but few have remarked on how definitionless he's been since his election. In Riordan's defense, he didn't seek out the label. And he doesn't seem to want it.

• Parking lots at major work places in smog-district areas are sporting more empty spaces near the front door as part of required carpool plans (ride-sharers are assigned the spots — what ride-sharers there are). That's just part of the increasing headache that "trip-reduction" mandates are causing for big employers, who are fined if they don't comply. But take heart — thanks to the 1990 Clean Air Act amendments, the burden is spreading across the nation.

At the same time, the South Coast Air Quality Management District has had to retreat. Under pressure locally and from Sacramento, it has become less antagonistic to business, is imposing lower fines, and has cut payroll 21 percent, to 915, in the last two years. The enviros have noticed, but the press hasn't been much better at reporting this than it was in detailing the AQMD's rise.

• The battle over use of the Southern California desert — preservation vs. recreation — is a political and cultural issue that only a few papers, such as the *Riverside Press-Enterprise,* cover regularly. The *L.A. Times* rolls out an update occasionally. But despite the seeming lock for a national park designation that came with Barbara Boxer's Senate election, the fight is still going on and could have reverberations in elections still to come.

• The exploding costs of "special education" programs, which now extend to far more than those traditionally considered handicapped, drains about $3 billion from conventional school budgets in the state. Funding mechanisms provide incentives for local districts to include as many kids as possible under special-ed, and they do so, with particular regard to racial and ethnic minorities that have generally underperformed in class.

• When an appellate court struck down the city of Los Angeles's set-aside program for "Minority and Women's Business Enterprises" it sent shock waves through this sector of the economy. "What this means," said Ana Barbosa, president of the Latin Business Association, "is the potential loss of billions of dollars in contracts." Say what?

• The *South Bay Daily Breeze* noted in a lead Sunday story that the state's assault-weapon ban was being widely thwarted by some minor alterations in the production of the arms. This raised the question of how effective various gun-control measures are. The *Wall Street Journal's* Al Hunt reported that more than 5,000 convicted criminals had been blocked from buying weapons over the last years by California's mandatory waiting period. We should read more about this.

• And who raised all that money for Clint Eastwood's television commercials for Proposition 172? ....

IF THE *San Francisco Chronicle* is being reconditioned to be another liberal rag (see last issue), there's still some hard-nosed reporting in the pipeline. On the eve of the approval of Proposition 172 to bail out the state's public

Tim W. Ferguson is California Political Review's *press critic.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

employees, the *Chronicle* published a comparison that showed government salaries in California to be higher than the private sector's in most fields. An official of the California State Employees Association stammered, "We're sick and tired of comparing apples and oranges .... You probably have a more educated work force in the state." Credentialed to the gills, surely ....

THE SPONSORS of the Proposition 174 vouchers could not blame their defeat on the press. Between the lines of most of the major-paper coverage of the campaign, both before and after the 70-to-30 percent setback, was a skepticism about the motives and tactics of the California Teachers Association. Inevitably, the alleged flaws of the initiative dominated the coverage, but there was little of the sappy schoolhouse script from years gone by. Choice backers got a break also because their strategist Ken Khachigian is a favorite of political reporters (although, still crying foul, he says the education writers "showed almost motherly concern about their child being deprecated" as his campaign sought to spotlight failings of the public schools). As the focus now shifts to expanded charter schools, CTA will have to clean up its PR act ....

Backers of 174 are probably just as glad nobody picked up on friendly polling showing blacks breaking against the initiative better than 16-to-1 despite its seeming appeal to the urban poor trapped in bad schools. Yes, school choice lost in the suburbs, but this disconcerting note about a target constituency is another factor the sponsors are going to have to address next time, especially when they go looking for more effective spokesmen ....

The *San Jose Mercury News,* meanwhile, challenged the various assumptions of the education establishment — money, class size, who attends private schools (they're actually less white than public schools) — in a series marshaled by editorial writer Joanne Jacobs ....

The *Los Angeles Times,* in a week-long news series in October, set the stage for political efforts to change the California tax system, the primary aim of which will be to eviscerate Proposition 13. Needless to say, you didn't read much about spending racing ahead of revenue growth ... or about Arthur Laffer's plan for a flat tax and VAT to replace the whole state contraption ....

Ed Mendel of the *San Diego Union Tribune* devoted a column to Senator Quentin Kopp's legislation designed to bar a Planning and Conservation League tactic of "selling" pieces of environmental bond issues to local and special interests by promising to include their pet projects in return for signatures or donations toward the balloting on the bond. When was the last time you saw the PCL impugned in print, with the word "bribe," no less? ....

If you're a big-time metro newspaper these days you're expected to do a computerized study showing how lenders discriminate against black and Hispanic home buyers. The *Orange County Register* stepped up to the plate with a Sunday Page One banner. Difficult, second-order questions have been raised about previous such studies, such as what were the credit histories (not just the incomes) of the applicants, and why are default rates for blacks and whites the same if blacks have to meet unduly high standards to get a loan, but these weren't addressed in the *Register's* formulaic piece ....

When the "Guidelines on Ethnic, Racial, Sexual, and Other Identification" were released by *Los Angeles Times* editor Shelby Coffey III on November 10, nearly anyone who doesn't see the world through PC-fogged glasses could have anticipated the reaction. It was one of ridicule for this increasingly preposterous kick the *Times* is on. The Word List, containing all kinds of taboo terms (including "Dutch treat," "handicap," "inner city," "manned," "powwow," and "Wailing Wall") was drawn up by a committee of news room staffers representing its various outraged and offended caucuses. Even Howard Kurtz of the *Washington Post,* no right-winger, had to raise an eyebrow in his account of this latest embarrassment. *Times* executives who see their paper's troubles in terms of sparse classified ads are missing a big chunk of the story ....

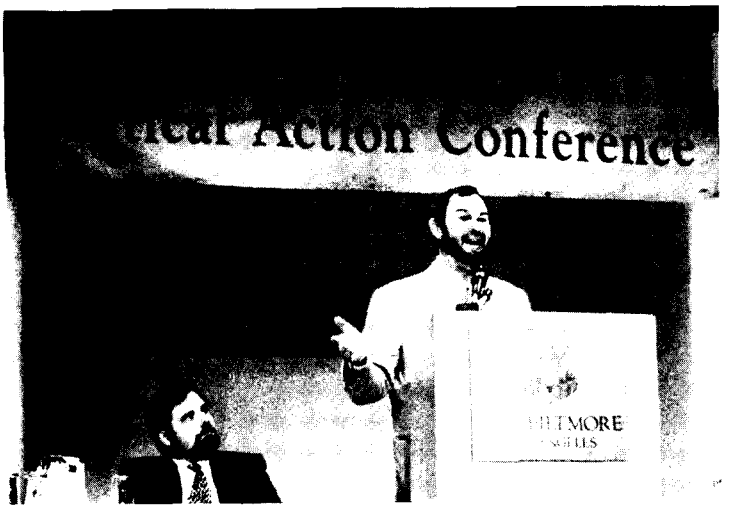
Even when the *Times* tries to do the right thing it sounds a wrong note. It editorialized against an attempt by Louis Farrakhan supporters to Jew-bait his campus critics at Cal State Northridge. But then came this mushhead rejoinder to the minister's speech there: "It also insulted the unemployed by maintaining that black lesbians would turn away from their women if only they could find a real black man, one with a job."

Notwithstanding that, let us devote the regular *Times* PC competition to an extraordinarily un-PC milestone at the Gray Porpoise. This fall, the Book Section awarded its annual "current-interest" prize to Peter Skerry's *Mexican Americans: The Ambivalent Minority.* The book casts a critical eye on the political elite that speaks for L.A.'s Latinos (and dominates *Times* editorializing), arguing instead for traditional ethnic assimilation and against victimization rituals. But this wasn't the only shocker. Among the *four* runners-up for the honor was David Brock's *The Real Anita Hill.* This must have spilled a few Sunday morning *latte* cups among Brentwood literati.

HOW DID such a thing happen? First, the prizes are administered by Jack Miles, a liberal *Times* editorialist who has the quaint notion that all intelligent viewpoints are worth hearing. He not only put the Claremont Institute's articulate and forceful Dr. Larry Arnn on the three-member nonfiction nominating committee, but allowed him to chair it. And the rest is end notes. CPR

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Western Conservative Political Action Conference



Western CPAC Chairman James Lacy listens as Rep. Dana Rohrabacher addresses the conference.

From October 22 to 24, 1993, conservatives from California, the West, and from as far away as the nation's capital met at Los Angeles's Biltmore Hotel for the first annual Western Conservative Political Action Conference, after two decades of successful Conservative Political Action Conferences — CPAC — *in Washington, D.C. Western CPAC was sponsored by The George Washington Society, the American Conservative Union, Young America's Foundation, The Claremont Institute,* Inside California, *and* California Political Review. *The following is a sample of the proceedings:*

Bruce Herschensohn

IN FOREIGN policy, you prepare for the worst, you hope for the best, and you have to have some faith in the president. That's very difficult at this time because President Clinton believes, as he did in the 1960s, that peace is more important than liberty. Last April 23 he said: "The United States should never be engaged in a war as a partisan."

How else do you engage in a war? Unless my history is at fault, I think we were fighting on one particular side in World War II and Korea and Vietnam and the Persian Gulf — in Grenada, in Panama. But, he really believes that. He means what the U.N. calls "Peace Makers." Lincoln could have had peace like that — take the troops out of Fort Sumter, let any state that wants to secede, and we would have had peace. Lincoln could have saved 500,000 lives. FDR could have had peace: December 8, 1941, Joint Session of Congress. Instead of asking for a declaration of war, ask for a declaration of accommodation; we would have had peace. For that matter, President Bush could have had peace in the Persian Gulf. He might just have said, the devil with it. Let Saddam Hussein take Kuwait. Let him take Saudi Arabia and Oman and Bahrain — let him have the Persian Gulf, and there would have been peace. But in all those cases, there would have been the peace of the slave for the many, the peace of the master for the few, and the peace of the grave for the rest.

Walter Williams

THE PRIMARY justification for the attack on private property, individual freedom — and privacy I might add — can be found in people's desire for government to do good. We say that government should help the poor, the disadvantaged, the elderly; that government should help failing businesses and other deserving segments of our society. Well, it's all well and good to say that. But we must recognize that government has no resources of its own. Those programs coming out of Washington or Sacramento don't rep-

Bruce Herschensohn discusses foreign policy. Seated: Tom McClintock, Young America's Foundation President Ron Robinson.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Walter Williams

resent congressmen and senators and legislators reaching into their own pockets sending out the money. Moreover, there is no tooth fairy or Santa Claus giving them the money. When you recognize that government has no resources of its own, it forces you to recognize that the only way government can give one American citizen a dollar is, first, through intimidation, threats, and coercion, to confiscate that dollar from some other American.

If anyone is wondering why I use that strong language — intimidation, threats, and coercion — you've got April 15 to check me out. That is, you can tell the agents of Congress at the IRS that you don't want your earnings going to farmers or the Export/Import Bank or poor people, and you will see all the intimidation, threats, and coercion you want to see. And if you act too ugly, you'll get shot — defending your private property.

But Americans support government acts that, if a private person did the identical thing, we would condemn him as a common, despicable thief. I could see an old lady sleeping on a grate and walk up to you with a gun, demand $200, and, having gotten it, buy the lady food and housing. If you were on a jury, would you find me guilty of a crime? Of course you would. I'd be guilty of theft, no matter what I did with the money.

Is there a conceptual distinction between that and the IRS walking up to me and saying: Williams, you know that $200 you made last week that you'd planned to use to buy some *Château Haut Castenet Bordeaux* wine? You will *not* do that. You will give it to us and *we* will help the lady downtown. I assert there is no distinction between those two acts. Both consist of taking what rightfully belongs to one person and giving it to another.

If you press me, the only distinction I see, which is morally trivial, is that the first case is illegal theft and the second is legal theft. I would urge that, if we're to be moral people, we cannot allow legality alone to be our talisman. There are many things on earth that are, or were, legal, that are clearly immoral. Slavery was legal, but did that confer moral status on it? Apartheid in South Africa was legal. Did that make it right? The Nazi persecution of the Jews or the Stalinist and Maoist purges were all legal. Were they moral? I urge you: pay attention to morality. Ask: what is the moral basis for taking that which belongs to one person and giving it to another?

Jo Ellen Allen

ACCORDING TO the NEA [National Education Association], the purpose of Death Education is to educate children to understand and accept death and to help them develop a better ability to cope with death experiences. An eighth-grade textbook includes an assignment to write a suicide note. Just in case your 12- or 13-year-old has never written a suicide note, the textbook gives you an example. It blames Big Business, which raises the cost of gum and candy, and says my parents don't understand me — it ends saying I've fought a good fight and I've met defeat. Great English assignment for youngsters. And we are told that the schools should not be teaching values.

Robert Dornan

[Rep. Dornan had just returned from Somalia. The following is excerpted from his discussion of several of the American soldiers who had recently been killed there.] .... [T]he other pilot, [was] Ray Frank, 45 years old. Twenty years ago, 1973, when we left Vietnam, he was 25. And I thought, this is definitely a Vietnam war pilot. And I was right .... He's a year younger than Bill Clinton. While Bill Clinton was traveling to Moscow, leading demonstrations in England, and conducting a "teach-in" at the London University, Ray Frank — *Clinton's* age, *Clinton's* generation — was flying three full combat tours in Huey helicopters and, later, gunships in Vietnam. Is that a story of two men?

I visited the Rangers in their hanger on the very spot a mortar shell had hit and killed another Ranger and wounded 12 more. The two-star general, Garrison, was 20 feet away — we almost lost a two-star general. That happened October 6, bringing the total for three days to 19 killed and 89 wounded.

I said, "Anybody here know Ray Frank?"

"Oh yea. I flew with Ray three years. Ray Frank really tore us up because we said if Ray could get it, anybody could

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

get it. We called him the 'old man'." Three tours in Vietnam ....

THE DEMOCRATS are terrified of special orders — why? Because Newt Gingrich used them effectively to pull down the only Speaker ever removed by a forced resignation from the House of Representatives. It forced out Tony Coelho, the only other person who's ever gone to Washington from Loyola-Marymount University. He's the one who always got invited back to the university as Man of the Year. My old alma mater has ignored me my whole congressional career because — I didn't know what to call it in the '70s, but now I do — I'm not politically correct, not for a Jesuit university, I guess. Coelho left town one jump ahead of the sheriff at the Justice Department. He hasn't been invited back since, but I don't get invited either ....

Martin Anderson

MANY PEOPLE have labeled the eight years of the Reagan presidency the "Reagan Revolution." Well it was a revolution, but it wasn't Reagan's. The more you look at the events of the last few decades, the more you are forced to conclude that a few men — Eisenhower, Goldwater, Nixon, Reagan — did not cause the great events that transpired not only in America but throughout the world. What caused them was a rising tide of a new capitalism, a powerful intellectual movement that is still rising, that created the political momentum that swept these men to political prominence and power. Reagan did not create the revolutionary movement that carried his name. It was the other way around, and I think he'd be the first to agree. Reagan was an important part of this movement. He contributed mightily to it. He became its political leader. But it was the movement that gave *him* political life, not the reverse. That movement is still alive, here in this room. You all know who you are. Many of you were the links that forged the chain for political victories of the past. Not one of you could have done it alone. But together, giving years of your life and tremendous effort, you made it all somehow work in the end. You won.

Daniel Lapin

LIBERALS BELIEVE wealth is limited just as, for instance, in the world of dogs, bones are limited. If one dog has three bones and another only has one, either somebody must come and redistribute the bones so each dog has two or the dogs must be encouraged to sort it out by tooth and fang because wealth, like bones, is limited.

Do you know where that opinion comes from? It's simple. They've taken the Scriptural position on wealth and turned it upside down. The beginning of *Genesis* describes that man was created in the image of God. What is the most valuable Godly attribute that the almighty instilled into us? The ability to create things. In *that* we are distinguished from baboons and chimpanzees and dogfish. We create, and it is the highest and most fulfilling human experience. The ultimate antidote to depression is a bout of creativity. It's not tablets. It's an opportunity to express oneself creatively. We have the capacity to create wealth and that means a free market is moral and appropriate.

Tom McClintock

Robert K. Dornan

The liberal says that since we are nothing but baboons at an advanced stage of development, we are as capable of producing wealth as a baboon is. Therefore, if anybody has what appears to be a disproportionate share of wealth, why, he's a robber, that's all. Everybody knows that. Profits equal theft. Enterprise equals exploitation. Everybody knows that. Here, the liberal position is 180 degrees reversed from Judeo-Christian tradition.

Bruce Herschensohn is a senior fellow at the Claremont Institute; Walter Williams is John M. Olin Distinguished Professor of Economics at George Mason University; Jo Ellen Allen is president of Eagle Forum of California; Robert Dornan represents California's 46th District in Congress; Martin Anderson is a Hoover Institution senior fellow; Daniel Lapin is senior rabbi at the Pacific Jewish Center in Venice, California. CPR

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Bilingual Education

Its legal mandate 'sunset' seven years ago and hasn't been renewed. It's losing ground in teaching English to California's non-English-speaking students. The Little Hoover Commission called it 'inappropriate, unwarranted, not feasible, and counterproductive.' But it won't go away. Why? It's too valuable — politically, that is — to be allowed to die.

Robert E. Rossier

BILINGUAL EDUCATION — defined, in California, as forcing public schools to conduct classes in the native language of students who cannot speak English fluently — is *not* supported by a majority of Californians. Also, Bill Honig's protestations to the contrary notwithstanding, it is *not* supported by any conclusive body of research. On the contrary, it is roundly criticized by respected education experts. It is *not* mandated by law in California (the law that established it here "sunset" in 1987 and has not been reauthorized). It is *not* making progress in teaching California's now more than one million non-English-speaking students to speak English. Actually, it is falling behind. As California's total number of non-English-fluent students rose steadily from 431,449 in 1982 to 613,224 in '87 and to 1,078,705 in '92, those "re-designated" as fluent each year hovered steadily at around 55,000 — *no* significant increase in more than 10 years while the bilingual student pool was more than doubling.

And, it is *not* helping most non-English-fluent students learn much of anything else either. After 25 years of bilingual instruction, far more Hispanics (who make up three-quarters of California's students whose primary language is not English) drop out of school than any other ethnic group. In 1990, Scholastic Aptitude Test scores of Hispanic high school students were by far the lowest among the state's ethnic groups. Bilingual education is clearly failing these students. But ...

This unpopular, unscientific, unmandated, failed idea (or, as the Little Hoover Commission recently termed it: "inappropriate, unwarranted, not feasible, and counterproductive") is enforced rigidly on schools up and down the state. Why? Some obvious reasons: Willie Brown, the California Teachers Association, Bill Honig ('though his body be long departed, his spirit obstinately remaineth), and their shared cynical disinterest in serving either the law or education. And some not so obvious, or, at least, not so well-known reasons: something called NABE ("NAH-bay") and a University of Southern California professor named Stephen Krashen. The political and monetary interests of each are intricately tangled with the continued imposition of bilingual education on California schools and they are not going to let this good thing slip away — not if they can keep it.

"YOU CAN'T tell the players without a program" and a knowledge of the players is indispensable if Californians are going to understand the political game that is bilingual education. And *political* it is, as some of the state's most prominent politicians have concluded that support of this highly touted instructional approach must be part

Robert E. Rossier taught high school for more than 30 years in the Los Angeles Unified School District. He now serves as board chairman of the Institute for Research in English Acquisition and Development.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and parcel of their strategy for building multi-ethnic support.

AMONG THESE politicos, the most influential, certainly, has been Assembly Speaker Willie Brown who, it should be remembered, assisted Jesse Jackson's Rainbow Coalition campaign for president. The Speaker has been a veritable *guerrillero* for bilingual education in California. In 1987, when the state's bilingual education law was due to "sunset," he sponsored and shepherded through the Legislature a bill to extend it. When it became apparent that Governor George Deukmejian might veto the bill — a veto that could be sustained by Assembly Republicans — Brown decided to call out his offensive team.

The *Los Angeles Times,* covering a speech Brown delivered to some 5,000 bilingual educators at the state convention of the California Association for Bilingual Education ("CABE" — the state-level affiliate of "NABE," National Association for etc., etc.), reported that the Speaker urged the teachers to pressure Deukmejian to sign the bill. If that failed, Brown said, it would be necessary to stage "a wave of sit-in demonstrations in the governor's office" that would "exhaust the jail space for those who may be arrested when they are to be removed." A fine public servant, this Brown. He never had to answer for this call for mass law-breaking or for the contempt for the democratic process that it represented — he never does answer for this sort of thing — perhaps, in this case, because Assembly Republicans *did* sustain Deukmejian's veto.

Brown's revenge came the following year, when he was able to influence the state Senate to deny reconfirmation to two Deukmejian appointees to the state school board, Angie Papadakis and Gloria Hom. In their first terms on the board, each had urged reform of the state bilingual program and so, apparently, they had to go. There was more than a little arrogance in Brown's action: on a question of the most effective means of helping speakers of other languages to learn English, Brown, a monolingual English speaker, contradicted the experience of Papadakis and Hom who had spoken Greek and Chinese, respectively, before learning English. Later, Brown and Assembly Democrats blocked the confirmation of state Senator Marian Bergeson as California Superintendent of Public Instruction, replacing the departed felon Bill Honig. Among the Democrats' charges against Bergeson was her failure to support bilingual education.

For his part, as superintendent, Honig sustained the bilingual movement as decisively, and arrogantly, as any California politician. Had the California Bilingual Act died in 1987, its "sunset" year, local school districts, no longer straitjacketed by the state's one-size-fits-all, no-deviation-allowed bilingual education mandate, could have begun tailoring instruction to fit each district's particular situation. So-called "LEP" (Limited English Proficient) students could then receive English-based instruction that would be more effective than bilingual instruction in teaching them English.

BUT HONIG, indulging an inclination that would later bring him down, set about circumventing the law. He and his staff manufactured an interpretation of an obscure section of the Education Code that they claimed permitted the old bilingual requirements, except for a few minor provisions, to remain in force. The California Department of Education (CDE) threatened to cut funding for any district that did not use credentialed bilingual teach-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ers in programs that emphasized primary language instruction. Had any district challenged the CDE in court, the state would probably have backed down. But the districts accepted the bureaucratic *diktat* without questioning its dubious legal validity.

Brown and Honig are major contributors to the bilingual cause, but *the* critical contribution to the rise of the Bilingual Education Machine — the integrated body of theory that seems to give it a scholarly foundation (indispensable given this political movement's supposedly "educational" purposes) — came from USC's Stephen Krashen. Krashen integrated the theories of several other experts with his own to create an academic justification for instructing LEP students in their primary language until they become literate in that language and only then permitting them to receive instruction in English.

BESIDES PROVIDING a pseudo-scholarly cover for bilingual education, Krashen's theory also serves establishment ideological purposes. It is a carefully-nuanced jab at "Western Civ," a cry of rebellion against (English) Language Imperialism, and *for* "multi-culturism," and so on and so forth. Its opponents can almost certainly expect to be called "racist" at some point, probably early on, in any debate on the subject. And beyond all that, it has almost completely inhibited critical analysis at the public school level because Krashen-style "language learning theory" is so involuted it seems almost impenetrable to normal people. Few educators, let alone laymen, feel "qualified" to discuss it with its proponents. Thus the theory's many serious flaws have not kept it from becoming a great political success for the bilingual education movement.

Thousands of teachers throughout California have been compelled to swallow the official theory more or less whole and then regurgitate it dutifully in order to pass the examination that qualifies them to receive a "bilingual" credential. Holding that credential, by the way, now matters more than competence if you want to teach in California's public schools. Also, school administrators and school board members have been indoctrinated to believe that Krashen's theory so demolishes its critics that no effective, or even rational, alternative to the state's bilingual program exists. "Modern research has found," runs a fairly typical state Education Department statement, "that the fastest and most effective way for most [LEP] students to retain both fluency and parity is through developmental instruction *in the home language* supplemented by English-as-a-second-language classes." *(emphasis added)*

ALL VERY neat, except that modern research has found no such thing. Herbert J. Walberg of the University of Illinois at Chicago, for instance, a widely respected scholar,* severely criticizes the kind of research typically conducted to determine the effectiveness of native-language instruction, as in his statement, following, quoted in the Little Hoover Commission's 1993 report on California's bilingual program:

> Actually, even the total population of opinion is likely to be biased because most of the research and synthesis in this field has been carried by those who have been funded by "true believers" within and outside government intent on showing the superiority of a single approach. Even the opinions of teachers and others funded in such programs are suspect because their jobs depend on such programs. Getting information from such sources is like asking your barber if you need a haircut.
>
> Second, much of the research is wretchedly planned and executed, and little can be concluded from it.

See the Little Hoover report for much more such comment by bilingual's expert critics. California's Education Department not only ignores all such inconvenient criticism — a good measure of *its* scholarly integrity — it pressures the whole system to go along,

* Walberg, for instance, was selected by the U.S. General Accounting Office in 1987 to serve on a panel of 10 "linguistic experts" charged with critiquing academic research on programs to educate English learners.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

which is instructive for anyone wondering why the schools teach so poorly.

Krashen is more than just a prominent bilingual movement theorist. In 1981, the Artesia, Bellflower, and Cerritos ("ABC") School District in Southern California established a consulting relationship with him. That led to an involvement with CABE, bilingual's chief California lobbyist. Through his consulting work, Krashen met a former project director of the ABC District named Chuck Acosta. When Krashen met him, Acosta had moved on to a position as a bilingual education consultant in the Office of the Los Angeles County Superintendent of Schools. There he teamed up with Shelley Spiegel-Coleman, another bilingual education consultant in that office. Both Acosta and Spiegel-Coleman later served multiple terms as president of CABE.

The Krashen, Acosta, and Spiegel-Coleman association has turned out to be mutually rewarding. The two L.A. County consultants have been able to act as virtual agents for Krashen, recommending him for consulting and teacher training with school districts throughout L.A. County and in adjoining counties — all very lucrative work. In addition, Krashen is often a featured speaker at CABE and NABE affairs where his books are also promoted. CABE has also used his services as a writer, commissioning him to do a book on exemplary bilingual programs.

As a lobbying organization, CABE has developed close ties with influential legislators and within the state Education Department's Bilingual Office, as well as with county school district offices. It has strong links with the CTA, ACLU, MALDEF (the Mexican-American Legal Defense Fund), the California School Boards Association, and others. All of this networking has contributed enormously to the organization's success in sustaining bilingual education as the exclusive instructional program for the state.

'Most research has been carried by those funded by "true believers" within and outside government .... Getting information from such sources is like asking your barber if you need a haircut.'

CABE has also worked to make its members more highly paid than regular classroom teachers. In the giant L.A. district, with more LEP students than any other in the *country*, bilingual teachers receive $5,000 a year more than non-bilingual teachers. Bilingual teachers and aides in many other districts are lobbying — some have already succeeded — for similarly favored status.

THE FEDERAL courts require, as a test of compliance with the Equal Education Opportunities Act (EEOA), that LEP programs be based on sound theory and that "after a reasonable period of time, the application of the theory must actually overcome the English language barriers confronting the students and must not leave them with a substantive academic debt." In other words, the courts ask that the applied theory produce not rhetoric but results.

So, after 25 years of official bilingual education, what do we know about the effectiveness of California's bilingual program? A review of the "professional literature" actually shows little support for the keystone theory that primary language content instruction facilitates English language learning. And evidence from other sources provide the program little support.

For example, in 1988 a politicized law firm called META (the "Multicultural Education Training and Advocacy Project" — the word *meta*, in Spanish, means "purpose" or "goal") with links to CABE, brought suit in San Francisco District Court against the Berkeley Unified School District. META's lawyers charged that the district had too few Spanish-speaking teachers to meet the EEOA requirement that districts take "appropriate action" to overcome language barriers. They maintained that Berkeley's LEP children, taught by teachers who did not speak the students' primary language, would take five to eight years to learn enough English to benefit from the regular academic curriculum.

School district evidence, however, showed the opposite: students in Berkeley's English-based program were learning English quickly, often in two or three years and sometimes even faster. They were also doing well academically, as evidenced by their performance on standardized

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tests, their grades, and attendance data. Presiding Judge D. Lowell Jensen concluded that no objective evidence existed showing that the plaintiffs' approach — more native language instruction — was effective. He found for the school district.

BECAUSE IT pitted the two contending applications of theory directly against each other and recorded the testimony of many prominent expert witnesses (including Krashen and Acosta for the plaintiffs), the Berkeley case should have been of great importance to California education officials. But it was completely ignored by the Department of Education and, therefore, by local districts.

The same year as the Berkeley case, the California Legislature authorized the state Education Department to commission an evaluation of the state's tremendously large bilingual program. The result was a five volume report: *Meeting the Challenge of Language Diversity: An Evaluation of Programs for Pupils with Limited Proficiency in English,* published in 1992. Those who hoped this massive effort would at least resolve the dispute over program effectiveness were disappointed. According to the report's authors, because "California schools do not have valid and ongoing assessments of the performance for students with limited proficiency in English ... *the State and the public cannot hold the schools accountable for LEP students achieving high levels of performance." (emphasis added)*

This remarkable statement raises several good questions. First, are "the state and the public" now required to absolve any and all agencies, even those receiving massive infusions of tax dollars, of responsibility for the quality of their work, no matter how dismal, whenever they fail to establish "valid and ongoing assessments" of it? Is not such a failure itself one more mark against them? Is the statement intended to shift responsibility for the results of the bilingual program from "the state" to "the schools," even though the California Department of Education has *compelled* the local districts to follow its rigid prescriptions for bilingual instruction? And why *hasn't* the CDE, over two decades, developed a means of assessing the program's success in meeting their primary goal, as stated in the law: "as effectively and efficiently as possible, to develop in each child fluency in English." (CDE assessments of bilingual education have been limited to gauging the students' success in learning, *in their primary language,* subjects other than English.)

Altogether, it is difficult to understand how anyone could make such an outrageous disclaimer — until we remember that the parents of the LEP students are not, for the most part, citizens. They are *not* a political force, which is why politicians such as Brown and Honig have demonstrated little concern about bilingual education reform.

But the Legislature's report is nonetheless revealing. It concludes, for instance, that LEP students are prime candidates to drop out of high school because "[m]ost LEP students in intermediate or senior high schools may not have access to the full curriculum that would enable them to graduate." Bilingual education was originally advertised as an instructional approach that would keep students in school. If they no longer "have access" to all of the classes leading to graduation, this must be because their term in the bilingual program has not given them the requisite English language skills to succeed in those classes. This most certainly will cheat them of the motivation needed to stay in school.

I KNOW of no comparison studies that have investigated the graduation rate for students who have been in the various LEP programs, but I *can* refer to a study that I conducted in four Los Angeles high schools in 1968, some years before bilingual education took over that district. At that time, LEP (this acronym was not used then) students were in an English-based program, "had access" to all classes needed for

(Please turn to page 36)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Being Shot At 'Without Effect'; What Role Conservative Journalism?

John Kurzweil

Earthquake Journal

WHO, I wonder, is trying to get in and why are they pounding so loudly on the windows? ... No, nobody smashes away like that. My eyes peek open. The windows are yelling, *screaming* at me. Wait ... wake up ... something important is happening ... an earthquake perhaps ... no, I've been through lots of those. They're gentle, rolling affairs. This is more like ... an A-bomb! No, I suppose I'd be toast in that case ... it *is* an earthquake! OK, I'm awake. Someone is lifting the building a few feet off the ground every few seconds and dropping it. Fine.

My wife says something about the kids and I'm off, feeling my way down the hall in the dark. No sound from their room. Our "stacked" washer and dryer are leaning diagonally across the passage, blocking it. I dive under, yelling my daughter's name. She cries "Daddy." Her one-year-old brother just cries. I think they're all right. First the baby out, under the washer (he calmly walks through the hole without ducking, as though it had been made for him), then his sister. My wife's found the flashlight, thank God. We pick our way downstairs, grabbing clothes as we go, take some coats from the closet, and outside. Making our way around to the library parking lot next door, we camp out.

Over on the boulevard, a geyser is shooting 40 feet in the air and a fire has started a few blocks away; another is blazing in the nearby hills and terrible screams are coming from the large apartment building across the street. My three-year-old says something about all the stars she can see above and a thought passes through my mind: Churchill's comment that nothing is so exhilarating as being shot at "without effect." It is a nightmare scene, but we're all safe. That qualifies as "without effect" in my book. Anyway, my reaction is certainly more one of exhilaration than anything else at that moment.

We spent the next week not, as I had planned, finishing the last third of *CPR's* Winter issue, but, with the aid of many friends and family members, moving everything out of the place — a four-unit townhouse now slowly moving off its foundation while continuously developing new bulges and cracks in its walls. Like a lot of people, we won't live in our old home anymore. Our first home as a family is gone but, what the heck? It was getting too small anyway and the kids need a yard. Once we learned our association president had paid our '94 earthquake insurance premiums in December, we all relaxed considerably.

Family, it should be noted, is what brought us through. We've moved temporarily into my father's house, a place large enough for nine people to live in, which is how many of us lived there when I grew up in that old place. (Much better-built, some 70 or so years ago, than the nine-year-old T-house we'd inhabited. It came through the 'quake just fine.) Now, anyone so generous as to have seven children is considered a fool and a fanatic; thank God there were such fools once. And family was also the first line of aid and comfort for each of our townhouse neighbors: one went to a sister's place, another to a brother's, and the third, an older couple, moved to their daughter's house during the emergency, covering all three generations among us. A family, Russell Kirk wrote, is an association of love stretching backward and forward through time.

THOUGH NONE of us are particularly pleased at this considerable disruption of our lives, and everyones' nerves have been rubbed a little thin at times the past week, my personal overall impression is that the family is closer now, having survived the disaster and having come to one another's aid, over and over again the past few days. We're closer to our neighbors too, particularly the couple that took us in and gave us breakfast that first morning, though their furniture was overturned

John Kurzweil is editor of California Political Review.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and their dishes were mostly lying smashed on their kitchen floor. No questions were asked: just come and eat. This is how people grow to know and love one another better.

Of course, many poor souls have not been so fortunate. I've heard about panic and near-riots at government-aid centers. "Weary Quake Victims Tied Up in Red Tape," ran a recent headline. Even though, for once, I am in the middle of one of these disaster stories, I see I do not share the experience of many of my fellow Angelenos.

THE SILLIEST headline I've seen, or so I thought at the time, read: "Clinton Offers Welcome Diversion." This strutting buffoon whose automatic reaction to human suffering is to grandstand before the TV cameras! Not that he's alone. Willie Brown is already urging a "temporary" sales tax increase. The really sick thing about socialism is that, in stark contrast to my and my family's experience, it turns people against one another. Who will get what from whom? It lives on an ingrained sense of hopelessness: what will we eat? what will we wear? where will we live? who will take care of us? Free societies answer those questions, primarily the last one, in this order: ourselves, first, then our families, our friends, our churches and voluntary associations, our businesses, first the local ones run by our friends, then, if necessary, larger, less personal ones. For both practical and moral reasons, it is *only* if all this fails that free men call in their government, which is to say, the use of force. And, again, the order is first local, then further away, and last and least relevant of all to normal life, the level turned to in only the most extraordinary circumstances like invasion or civil war, the national government.

The idea of Clinton appearing first in the list — as lord and savior, no less — is ridiculous and pathetic. But, not for all of us. In fact, since ours is largely no longer a free country, vast numbers of people now find themselves looking first to, of all things, the national government — skipping over themselves, their family and friends and church and business associates. Socialism dismisses voluntary virtue as sentimental claptrap, turning instead to power, which reverses the list. The place to begin with power is at the top: if virtue must be forced out of people, better hit them with the biggest guns available, and so you get this surrealistic scene of the grand poseur, Clinton — a pathological liar, philanderer, and goof — paraded through town like Christ on Palm Sunday.

The media, of course, "reports" as though this were the most natural thing in the world. This is the same media that finds it self-evident that "we can't go back to the days of Ozzie and Harriet," that derides the notion that any intelligent person would want to anyway, now that we've finally been liberated from all that. But the connection between what we've given up and what it costs is never drawn: "Thousands of bone-weary earthquake victims [that favorite word!], whose hopes lifted when Clinton Administration officials arrived promising quick delivery of emergency housing vouchers, were bitterly disappointed Friday to find that it could be days — even weeks — before housing or other forms of emergency aid will be provided by disaster centers.

"Government leaders struggled through a thicket of bureaucratic delays ...."

Has it ever been otherwise when people give up their freedom, their self-reliance? The truth is plain, but the politicians will never tell it, the reporters, who are programmed never to stop and think, will not notice it, and, sadly, ever fewer Americans seem aware of it. Willie wants a higher tax? Look for the whimpering, cowardly spirit of the 1990s to answer him: yes, please, hurry, take whatever you want, just feed us, clothe us, give us a place to live. We're helpless on our own.

An Address on Conservative Journalism

Delivered during Western CPAC's "Bringing Balance to the News Media" panel discussion

A LITTLE more than 20 years ago, in an essay titled: "As Breathing and Consciousness Return," Alexander Solzhenitsyn predicted the return of free speech to Russia, warning that the transition would be "difficult," "slow," and "painful."

"For decades," he wrote, "while we were silent, our thoughts straggled in all possible and impossible directions, lost touch with each other, never learned to know each other, ceased to check and correct each other. While the stereotypes of required thought, or rather of dictated opinion, dinned into us daily from the electrified gullets of radio, endlessly reproduced in thou-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sands of newspapers as like as peas, condensed into weekly surveys for political study groups, have made mental cripples of us and left very few minds undamaged."

It may sound overstated to say it, but I think Solzhenitsyn's description applies surprisingly well to our condition as conservatives today — particularly to conservatives interested in the media: in the communication and exchange of ideas and information, and in debating and reaching conclusions about the world we inhabit and how we should behave in that world. The title of this panel is "Bringing Balance to the News Media," but I think the problem is not so much one of "balance," which implies two sides, each deserving a fair hearing. I think we face the much more fundamental problem of how to revive minds that have all but ceased functioning altogether.

We are supposed to avoid indulging in liberal media bashing up here, and I intend to abide by that, for the most part, but not entirely, because I think the first step toward doing something about the pathetic state of the media is to understand just how pathetic it is. That, I think, will make it plain why the job is not to "balance" what is there now but, as Reagan said of communism, to transcend it, to dismiss it as the bizarre chapter in human history that it is, a chapter whose last pages are even now being written.

Am I overstating again? I don't think so. Consider Allan Bloom's assessment in his book *The Closing of the American Mind:* "There is one thing a professor can be absolutely certain of," Bloom wrote. It is that "almost every student entering the university believes, or says he believes, that truth is relative." This self-contradictory, half-witted notion — that truth is relative — also characterizes most American mainstream journalism, broadcast or print. It is the guiding intellectual principle of our popular culture, and the media is at the center of that culture.

Evidence to prove the charge of relativism in the media is endless. For just one of the most glaring examples, there is the press's reaction to political correctness on campus and, increasingly, throughout society. PC is, of course, a virulent assault on free speech, supposedly American journalism's most prized, loved, and indispensable prerogative. But when we read the major dailies or listen attentively to the nightly news awaiting the thunderous denunciations of PC that we just *know* must be coming, what do we hear? .... Silence, mostly.

The concern is not one of 'balance,' but the much more fundamental problem of how to revive minds that have all but ceased functioning.

As a matter of fact, reading Tim Ferguson's "Working Press" column in *California Political Review* [Summer 1993] one learns that the *Los Angeles Times'* Op-Ed editor, so far from denouncing PC, actually keeps a chart in his office with pink and blue squares, indicating the gender of each day's contributors, and that the *Times'* "View" section recently ran a piece detailing a long list of insensitive, which is to say, forbidden, words — everything from "welshing" and "gypping" (very bad) to, believe it or not, the hatefully racist phrase: "don't get behind the eight ball."

What has become of the liberal rallying cry "I may not agree with what you say but will defend to the death your right to say it"? It turns out, of course, that the "truth" about our free speech rights is, well, relative. Actually, it only applies to liberals. Violating the prevailing taboo against declaring anything as really true — except, of course, relativism — is the only sure way to raise the hackles of most members of the press.

That, by the way, is why a man like *Sacramento Bee* Columnist Dan Walters, who is supposed to be both highly intelligent, which he is, and unrelenting in his independent tough-mindedness, which he is anything but, is utterly incapable of writing the word "conservative," for instance, without prefacing it with some such adjective as "rigid."

This is really infantile — to be absolutely unable to confront the opposition without a lot of prefatory name calling — but watch for it. Dan Walters simply can't write any other way, which is also true of most other mainstream media types.

Conservatism proposes at its very core that some things are true, which is as plainly correct as relativism is plainly moronic. The sheer unassailability of this core conservative truth is what reduces bright fellows like Walters to childish hissing and booing and name calling. Relativists have no other recourse.

AFTER ALL, what is relativism? First, it is a logical absurdity, like saying, for instance, that Mr. Popodopoulous, the Greek, says all Greeks lie all the time. Think about it. If that is true, it must also be false. Just so, relativism can only be true *if* it is false. This is an Abbott and Costello idiots' debate, and yet it is precisely the blazing intellectual first principle that warms the minds and lights the way of most of those mental giants toiling away in the mainstream media.

Are they really dumb enough to be-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

lieve that truth is relative? Of course not. Actually, all this is is a hopelessly lame-brained rationalization for ignoring the truth whenever doing otherwise becomes inconvenient. It is lazy, corrupt, and decadent, which is a pretty good description of most of what comes from the media.

That is why, all the recent evidence to the contrary notwithstanding, most reporters seem not to have noticed that socialism has been utterly discredited — again — the world over. It is why, with straight faces, they routinely refer to Russian communists as "conservatives" and free marketeers as "liberals" — but only in the eastern hemisphere. Their breathtaking capacity for being taken in by every tawdry, threadbare con game to come along — so long as its perpetrator proclaims himself a prince of liberals — would make a Druid blush.

RELATIVISM IS, really, just a formula for turning one's brain off, of reverting to a Dark Age-level primitivism and obscurantism, of preferring stupidity to intelligence. It is the intellectual aspect of the West's more general weariness with the burdens of freedom. And we, by allowing such people to dominate every arena where thinking normally *should* be going forward — the media, the arts, education, popular culture — have helped bring on this sorry condition.

That is why I said earlier that I think the concern is not one of "balance," but the much more fundamental problem of how to revive minds that have all but ceased functioning. We conservatives, particularly in California, have simply failed to field a team at all when it comes to journalism. Consequently, we are now very much in a position like those Russians to whom Solzhenitsyn addressed himself. With little or no honest communications operating in California, we have subjected ourselves to having "the stereotypes of required thought, or rather of dictated opinion, dinned into us daily" over radio and television and "endlessly reproduced in thousands of newspapers as like as peas" — with, what, the *Orange County Register's* editorial pages and a few other lonely outposts as exceptions? The silence of honest men in the midst of this din has left our thoughts, again like those of Solzhenitsyn's countrymen, straggling in all possible and impossible directions, losing touch with each other, never learning to know each other, ceasing to check and correct each other. It's made "mental cripples of us and left very few minds undamaged."

Want proof? "Almost every student entering the university believes, or says he believes, that truth is relative."

So much for the bad news. The good news is that this creaking, derelict liberal relativism has been collapsing before our eyes for several decades now. How could it do otherwise? Any way of doing things based on systematically closing one's eyes, ears, and mind to reality is, of course, doomed from the beginning. We might as well try driving on the freeway with our eyes shut. As P.J. O'Rourke said, giving money and power to Congress is like giving whiskey and car keys to teenage boys. All that's in doubt is just how long we wait to crash and burn.

This, then, I think is the first rule and the first job of conservative journalism: respect and tell the truth. Respect it enough to get involved in writing, teaching, publishing, debating, or, if your talents don't run in those directions, support more those who are doing these things. Act as though what our kids learn is important, too important to be left to union hacks like Del Weber. Act as though the printed and broadcast pictures of the world that people receive matter enough to consider choosing journalism as a career or to encourage your sons and daughters to go into journalism. Our job is not to "balance" the brain-dead liberal media, but to supplant it with thoughtful, honest, non-relativist journalism of our own.

NOW, FOR a while, even letting on that some things are true and others false will open us up for ridicule. But we must stand fast a little. Notice how often Rush Limbaugh says simply that he is telling the truth, and he is not doing too badly. In any event, as liberal failures mount up, the peoples' appetite for foolishness will diminish. It will be replaced by a hunger for honest common sense. Go listen to Tom McClintock talk about California's finances or Kevin Teasley talk about public education if you think things can continue much longer as they are.

When Neville Chamberlain's pledge of "Peace in our time" was blown apart by Adolph Hitler, the British people who had so recently proclaimed him their hero quickly tossed him aside and turned to a much more sensible man, Winston Churchill. Like Churchill, we must be prepared when the relativist fad collapses. We — conservative journalists — must be ready to tell the truth. Our time is coming; indeed, it is already here.

Thank you. CPR

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A Mother's Ordeal

China's One Child Policy

An Interview With Steven W. Mosher

STEVEN W. MOSHER, director of the Claremont Institute's Asian Studies Center, is author of *A Mother's Ordeal* (Harcourt Brace, 1993), a book about communist China's population control program, the One Child Policy, as experienced by one Chinese woman, first in her homeland and then in America. Mosher's extensive research in China and throughout the Far East was initially welcomed by China's communists, who apparently assumed he would produce the usual glowing lies routinely issued by fawning Western journalists. Instead he reported what he saw: forced abortions and sterilizations and sundry other unpleasant and inconvenient truths. He was invited not to return.

California Political Review: How did you come to write this book?

Mosher: My experience with China's population control program dates back to 1979, when I was living in a village in south China. I found myself caught up in the beginning stages of what would develop into the one-child policy. I was an eye-witness to forced abortions and sterilizations. I touched on it in books and articles, but had never devoted an entire book to it. I did not want to write about the program as an abstraction, as a policy issue, dealing with statistics, with numbers. I wanted to put a human face on it, and it was only after I met and found out a little of the history of a woman I called Chi An that I realized her story would be a perfect vehicle to tell the full horror of China's population control program.

CPR: What is her story?

Mosher: Chi An is not her real name. China practices "collective punishment." If they cannot get to you, they get to your mother, father, brother, or sister, or even a child of yours. So we called the woman Chi An. The book begins with Chi An coming of age in China in the 1950s and '60s. She had been a member of the Red Guards, young people used, without their realizing it, by Mao against his opponents.

They attacked their teachers and principals and then went on to bigger game — Mao's enemies in the government and the party. When it was over in 1969, Mao stood alone, his enemies dead, isolated, or imprisoned. Then many Red Guards leaders were arrested and sent to labor camps.

CPR: What became of Chi An?

Mosher: A sympathic party official allowed her to stay in the city because she had health problems. She was trained as a nurse, which included performing abortions, a part of her training she did not like. While performing her first abortion, she was forced to look in the collection pan to make sure she had gotten everything. Among unrecognizable parts in pink-tinted water, suddenly a tiny hand no longer than a centimeter floated to the surface, and she knew what she had done.

Chi An became part of a mobile sterilization team in northern China. She gradually realized that the long lines of women at each village were not there voluntarily. With two children or more, they had been ordered to come by the local party organization. The doctors would laugh about the procedure — that it was like spaying a dog or a pig — while performing 40 or 50 a day, assembly-line fashion.

In the '50s, Chairman Mao had encouraged big families, once telling Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko that a U.S. nuclear attack killing 300 million people would not matter since China's women could produce twice that number in one generation. But beginning in the '70s, the government changed its mind and began tightening the family planning noose.

CPR: How did Chi An react to her work?

Mosher: She knew not all the women were coming voluntarily. One woman she sympathized with had two children: a 10-year-old girl who suffered from goiters and a two- or three-year-old boy. She was sterilized through a procedure called a tubal ligation and within *days* her son contracted meningitis and died. The woman went crazy,

A slightly different version of this interview originally appeared in Catholic Twin Circle.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

standing day after day outside the medical clinic — Chi An's sterilization team was still in the village — ranting and raving, screaming and crying. It was more than Chi An could bear. She asked the head of the medical team to reverse the sterilization so the woman could at least hope to conceive a second child. She was refused and told that their job was to make sure women did *not* have any more children.

CPR: Does "one child" literally mean one child per couple?

Mosher: No. People assume it means a couple can have one child when they want to. That is not true. You can have a child only when the government says so. Factories, government offices, and villages receive quotas. Many couples married four or five years remain childless because they have not received permission. Chi An was given the job of enforcing the quota — about 150 babies a year — for the truck factory where she worked. The pleasant part came in January when she announced to 150-odd happy couples that they had been selected to conceive children in the coming year. The unhappy part went on the rest of the year: making sure that no women not given permission conceived children.

CPR: How many people worked in her factory?

Mosher: About 1,500, so the quota was for about one percent a year. In each shop in the factory, Chi An posted a bulletin board with the names of women of child-bearing age down one side and the months of the year along the top. Each woman in the factory was required to put a check-mark by her name on the board when she had her menses. Chi An knew what day each woman was due, and if a check-mark did not appear within a few days of its expected date, Chi An would tell her to come in for a pregnancy test. If the woman was found pregnant, she was told she must get an abortion. That was Chi An's job for about five years until she left to come to the United States about 1986.

They did not drag women to the clinic. Chi An and other officials subjected them to lengthy 'study sessions' day after day, week after week, gradually eroding their will to resist. Most finally gave in.

CPR: Why did she leave?

Mosher: Her job's inhumanity became increasingly difficult for Chi An. One experience in particular drove it home. She was working as a nurse in a Beijing hospital late one night when a young woman from a nearby village, nine months' pregnant and close to giving birth, was brought in by police who'd found her hiding in an alley. They'd concluded she'd escaped from the population control police in her village. Chi An was assigned to watch over her until morning when doctors would arrive for the abortion. But the woman went into labor before that and when the doctors who were hastily summoned arrived a healthy eight-pound boy, bawling his lungs out, was already born.

The doctor, who normally injects alcohol or formaldehyde into the soft spot of the skull as the baby descends the birth canal, made the injection into the newborn boy and left. But he injected too little formaldehyde or didn't inject it deeply enough because the boy did not die right away. There was the baby who would take half an hour to die, his cries gradually weakening. There was the mother, 20 years old and hysterical because she knew her baby she'd just given birth to was dying, and there was Chi An, unable to do anything to comfort either the mother or the baby. She still has nightmares about what she calls "the little boy who wouldn't die."

CPR: When did Chi An actually leave China?

Mosher: It was after her best friend in the factory became pregnant. She hid her pregnancy for several months, and then, when Chi An learned of it, she kept putting her off. She carried the baby to seven months before Chi An finally said: I have no choice. I must order you to go for an abortion. They did not drag women to the clinic. Chi An and other officials subjected them to lengthy "study sessions" day after day, week after week, gradually eroding their will to resist. Most finally gave in. But Chi An's friend disappeared before she could be arrested. This is common in China; it is called "childbirth on the run." Chi An's friend went to a relative in a village but forgot that Chi An knew about this relative. A few days later, Chi An appeared at the house with several policemen and brought her friend back, whereupon she was taken for an immediate abortion.

She never spoke to Chi An again, and Chi An never forgave herself for betraying her. She became desperate to get out and applied to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

join her husband in the United States who was studying for a Ph.D. at one of the state universities of New York. Reluctantly the Chinese communist party gave her permission.

CPR: How old was she at this time?
Mosher: She was about 36. She came with her only child who was then about 12. She had had one child in 1976 and, immediately after having one child, had become pregnant again and had been forced herself to have an abortion fairly early on in pregnancy. A strange thing about China's population control police: the best enforcers of the population control quota, the most aggressive "one child" advocates, are women who *themselves* have been forced to have abortions.

Chi An had signed the one child agreement, but as soon as she came to the United States, she accidentally became pregnant a third time. She and her husband desperately wanted to keep this child. At the same time, their plans were to go back to China, to help modernize their homeland. Chi An wrote the head of her factory asking: can't you make an exception? My husband and I are living in the United States. We have a little money saved and would be happy to pay any fine you choose to levy on us. We will be happy to write a confession of wrongdoing, but just let us keep this child.

Of course they were turned down. Then Chi An and her husband called me at the suggestion of some Chinese who knew of my work. They asked me what could be done. I said I thought they had no choice if they wanted to save their unborn child but to try to stay in the United States. They applied for political asylum but were turned down by the INS which said they were not members of a persecuted minority, such as Tibetan, and were not being persecuted for their religious beliefs. The State Department supported the INS saying the one child policy is simply a social policy applied to everyone in China. They came back to me and said: what can we do now? I said I thought they had to go public with their story, but they were reluctant to do that because they have many family members in China.

CPR: Weren't those people already in trouble?
Mosher: The authorities had begun paying nightly visits to Chi An's mother, telling her she must order her daughter to get an abortion. They forced her to sign a letter saying: you must get an abortion. Chi An was quite distraught because she had thought her mother would support her. Fortunately, her mother was able to mail another short note through a friend saying: ignore my letter. I want to have another grandchild. Do not return to China. Stay in the United States. At that point Chi An and her husband decided to go public. I wrote the story of this Chinese couple in the United States, pregnant with their second child, and who, if they were forced to return to China, would certainly lose that child. It was published in *Catholic Twin Circle.*

CPR: What happened?
Mosher: We got 150 letters that we sent on to Attorney General Ed Meese. Then *Readers Digest* — circulation 27 *million* — picked up the article. I had asked readers to write the attorney general and thousands upon thousands did so. Meese is a very decent man and when he learned of Chi An's plight, in one of his last acts in office, he granted Chi An, her husband, and their children political asylum. Also, he sent the INS a memo instructing them to consider granting political asylum on the grounds of fleeing forced sterilization or abortion.

CPR: Is that still in effect?
Mosher: It is, but Meese's memo only made fleeing the one-child policy *possible* grounds for asylum. The INS never promulgated it; they bureaucratically

sabotaged the policy. Asylum applications on those grounds were in general turned down.

In January 1990, President Bush issued a presidential order that all Chinese students and scholars in the United States on June 4, 1989 — the date of Tienanmen — could remain one year. He extended that in 1991 and again in 1992. In January 1993, Bush signed a presidential order directing the Justice Department and the INS to consider claims for political asylum on grounds of fleeing the one-child policy. But the Clinton Administration — as far as I can tell — is absolutely opposed to granting political asylum to anyone fleeing forced abortion or forced sterilization. When Clinton was sworn into office, within an *hour* the federal press was ordered shut down. A new executive order held in abeyance all executive orders signed by Bush but not already published — including this one.

CPR: What has become of Chi An?
Mosher: Chi An's baby girl was born February 1, 1988, and is now five years old. Chi An and her husband were very moved by the letters on their behalf, especially those from readers of *Catholic Twin Circle* because many referred to the faith of the writers. Chi An asked me: Why should these people care

(Please turn to page 36)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Criticus

On Location, Without Tears

G. B. Tennyson

SOME INCONSTANT readers have inquired about the doings of Criticus when it comes to his frequent references to the film he has been engaged with on the subject of Owen Barfield. No, they care not at all about Criticus's much reported upon *faiblesses,* considering all that to be the lot of those who will go about in the world walking with a stick; instead they care about the name and nature of Owen Barfield. And in such a way as to confirm to the wounded Criticus (now on the mend, thank you constant ones who care) that Owen Barfield is the best known mystery name of our time. He remains just on the tip of your awareness; perhaps he even comes to you as, oh yes, that friend of C.S. Lewis's. Now, just what did he do? Or so it used to be.

Barfield himself has provided an amusing anecdote about his one-time mysterious reputation. It came from Lewis's early years of teaching at Oxford. By the end of the 1920s, Barfield had already published three books, one a fairy story and the other two intellectual and literary studies. Those latter were *History in English Words* (1926) and *Poetic Diction* (1928), both still in print, both deserving a larger readership than they have gained already. Even so, in the Thirties Barfield was not widely known and held no academic position. His best friend Lewis, however, knew and treasured Barfield's work and frequently cited Barfieldian ideas and invoked Barfield's name and authority. It became apparent to Lewis that his students divided into two groups on the subject of Owen Barfield. One held that there really was a person named Owen Barfield who advanced the ideas Lewis ascribed to him; the other held that there really was no such person at all, but that he had been invented by Lewis as a cover for putting forth odd ideas of Lewis's own for which he did not want to be held accountable.

Well, of course, there was such a person. Even more astonishingly, there still is such a person. He is alive and well at 95, the last of the original group of Oxford Inklings, and in my view also the first. Over the years and through a series of a dozen books, countless articles, and extensive lecturing, Barfield has come into his own as probably the most original mind among all the Inklings. In the event that the name Oxford Inklings is for some readers of these pages rather like the name Owen Barfield for Oxford students of the Thirties, let it be said that Oxford Inklings is the collective name for a group of academics and intellectuals, and later some of their best students, who gathered around C.S. Lewis during his Oxford years especially from the Thirties to the mid-Fifties, for literary discussions, readings, and general good fellowship.

ONE SCHOOL of thought, exemplified by the factually rich, if spiritually narrow, study by Humphrey Carpenter titled simply *The Inklings* (1978), holds that the Inklings themselves were, when all is said and done, nothing more than friends of C.S. Lewis. The other

Owen Barfield

G. B. Tennyson is professor of English at U.C.L.A. and co-editor of Nineteenth Century Literature.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

school of thought, exemplified by Lewis biographers and critics from Walter Hooper, the dean of Lewis studies, to the many C.S. Lewis societies scattered about the world (yes, there is even a German *Inklings-Gesellschaft),* holds that the Oxford Inklings, in addition to being friends of C.S. Lewis — perhaps *because* of being friends of C.S. Lewis — were something like a literary movement or at least a reasonably coherent literary school that shared not only Lewis's friendship but in their own ways Lewis's dedication to Christianity. This view holds that the writings of the Inklings constitute a congruous body of literature imbued with an imaginative Christian sensibility especially strong in the area of fantasy and fairy tales, the most celebrated examples being Tolkien's *Lord of the Rings* and Lewis's *Chronicles of Narnia.* In other words, one group says the Inklings, like Barfield, never really existed and have been created by those who, like Lewis himself, need to believe in them as a cover for their own ideas; the other group says that the Inklings, also like Barfield, not only really existed but that they stand for something real and important that speaks to the issues of literature and belief and their relation to the modern world.

WHO WERE these Inklings? Well, among those who have written a good deal and gained followings of their own of greater or lesser size and intensity, there are: C.S. Lewis, J.R.R. Tolkien, Charles Williams, Dom Bede Griffiths, Nevill Coghill, Lord David Cecil, and of course — Owen Barfield, to say nothing of lesser known Inklings like H.V.D. Dyson, Colin Hardie, Lewis's brother Warren, and by a kind of spiritual affinity rather than on-site association the detective novelist Dorothy Sayers. As to what they were, just friends or sharers of a common purpose, well, Criticus adheres to the second view, recognizing that by "common purpose" one is speaking as much of an outlook as of any kind of formal platform or program. Just as there really was and is an Owen Barfield, so there was a meaningful, not merely accidental, group of like-minded thinkers and writers that we now recognize as the Oxford Inklings.

Barfield is not always easy, for he deals in ideas that go against the grain of modern thought, which is also to say that he makes you think.

What, then, of the role of Owen Barfield among the Inklings and of Barfield in his own right? Space prevents any kind of full explication, and indeed part of the reason for the film is to present Barfield to a wider public. There will also eventually be a book-length study by Criticus. *[Editor's note: Criticus has also written numerous essays on Barfield over the years; see especially* The World and I, *April 1990.]* Moreover, Barfield is not always easy, for he deals in ideas that go against the grain of modern thought, which is also to say that he makes you think. So, how to sum up his essence and the reason for his importance among the Inklings who otherwise write more popular works? In other words, how to present "Barfield Without Tears," to adapt the title of that once popular primer *French Without Tears* that Barfield himself studied from as a child?

ONE COULD bombard the reader with a series of Barfieldisms, that is, terms and concepts he has coined and/or made uniquely his own in the writings that have continued from the Twenties to the present. Consider the following: participation (original and final), figuration, collective representations, the unrepresented, polarity, the evolution of consciousness, interior is anterior. Each of these and more requires considerable explanation and hardly qualifies as Barfield Without Tears. Part of the purpose of our film profile was to engage Barfield himself in commenting on his key concepts, which he does with his never-failing politeness and gracious Edwardian manner. But in the limited space available here, perhaps it is best to concentrate on what is central and accessible in Barfield's philosophy that can help us to see the Inklings as a group and that yet remains expressly Barfieldian.

The essence is Barfield's view of the nature of the imagination and its relation to meaning. Barfield holds that the imagination is a faculty essential to knowledge. He and Lewis engaged in a long dispute over this point in the Twenties. They called it their "Great War," with Lewis taking the view that reason alone was the agent of knowledge and Barfield contending

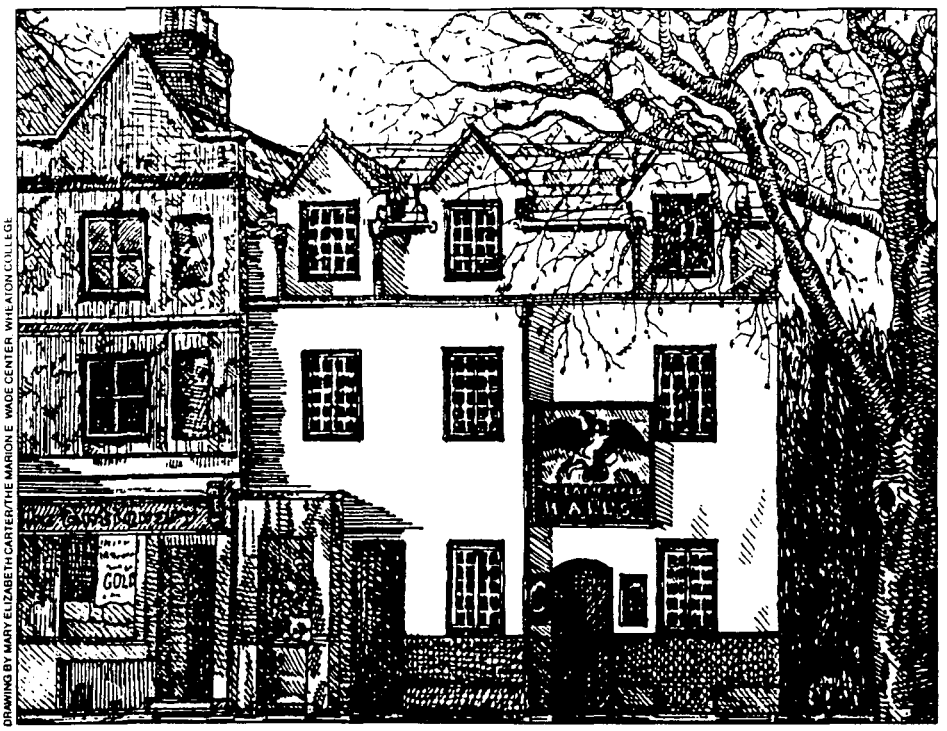
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that without imagination we cannot know anything at all because imagination is the agency of our participation in the nature of reality.

IT MAY seem strange to readers who know Lewis as the author of imaginative works of fiction to find him arguing against imagination, but the point was not that Lewis opposed imagination, only that he did not believe it to be an agent of knowledge. It may seem strange as well to find Barfield, who has written mainly carefully reasoned, discursive works of non-fiction, serving as the champion of the imagination, but the point is not that he opposed reason, only that he saw it as insufficient to account for what and how we know what we know. The issue is a philosophic one, but it is well put by Barfield in metaphorical terms that may make it clearer for the non-specialist: Lewis, Barfield said, was in romantic love with the imagination, but Barfield wanted to marry her.

From Barfield's attitude towards the imagination, which many will recognize as highly Coleridgean and which is also linked to the thought of Goethe and Rudolf Steiner, it is a predictable step to his attitude on the subject of meaning. Like many throughout history, especially poets and mystics and those who live by the imagination, Barfield believes that meaning is a transcendent and pre-existing reality, not a creation of the mind. Mind itself, he argues, could hardly have been generated by a mindless universe as materialists assume. What each of us does in our thinking is to participate in that overarching non-material Mind that is true reality.

However difficult the foregoing sounds in this abbreviated form, it



The "Bird and Baby" Pub, a frequent Inklings meeting place beginning in 1933.

is rather less so in Barfield's own writings, especially in those key works *Saving the Appearances** (1957) and the earlier *Poetic Diction,** which Criticus strongly commends to interested readers. On a more personal level, readers will want to look into *Owen Barfield on C.S. Lewis,** which Criticus himself edited, and the just lately published *A Barfield Sampler,** edited by Jeanne Hunter and Thomas Kranidas, which brings to the public Barfield the poet and sometime writer of fiction.

Finally, however, we hope the ultimate introduction to Barfield will be the video-film *Owen Barfield: A Profile,* which is why we went on location to East Sussex during a golden week at the end of July in 1992. The behind-the-scenes story of the filming might make a column for another day; for now it is sufficient to know that our aim was to present Barfield the man as well as Barfield the thinker as he is today in the wisdom and serenity of his tenth decade.

WE INTERVIEWED and photographed him mainly in his study and in the garden of the retirement residence called the Walhatch where he lives. There a broad, lush green lawn is embraced on one side by the rambling neo-Victorian residential hotel and on the other by a curve of dense trees and shrubs dominated by a vast chestnut which Barfield and I refer to as Yeats's "great rooted blossomer" (see

* All of these titles are available from the University of New England Press, Hanover, New Hampshire, except *A Barfield Sampler,* available from State University of New York (SUNY) Press, Albany, New York.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Among School Children"). A tall dovecote rises through the distant greenery, and from time to time out of its dormers a swarm of doves suddenly starts up, wheels about the sky in a widening gyre, then narrows and closes to fly across the garden and perch for a time on the eaves and crenellations of the Walhatch before rising again as one, curling into the upper air, and returning to their home. In the garden, seated in front of an abundance of sky-blue hydrangeas, sits the first and last of the Oxford Inklings illuminating every topic he discusses, including even the behavior of doves.

Owen Barfield: A Profile will not be coming soon to a theatre near you. For one thing, it is still not fully edited (such is the curse of amateurs who have limited time and money) and for another it will be a video. But one day it will be available on tape, and Criticus will see that you hear about it, so that you too can enjoy, live and on location, Barfield Without Tears. CPR

BOOKS

The Decade of Greed That Wasn't

What Went Right With The 1980s, by Richard B. McKenzie, Pacific Research Institute for Public Policy, San Francisco, 1993, 397 pages, $21.95, cloth.

Reviewed by Peter Hannaford

NOT LONG after Ronald Reagan left the White House to retire to California, the American left began an intense campaign to discredit his successful record. Why? After all, the record was there for everyone to see: the longest unbroken peacetime economic expansion in the nation's history (with nearly 19 million new jobs created), coupled with a national defense rebuilding strategy that proved to be the straw that broke the Soviet Union's back.

On the economic side, the answer lies in the left's enduring belief that prosperity is finite and that one person can prosper only if another suffers. If one believes this, it is but a short step to attributing entrepreneurial enterprise and personal drive to a base motive: greed. To prove the point, leftist commentators cited Wall Street's leveraged buyout and junk bond fever and the excesses of some savings-and-loan moguls. The "proof" rested on cases involving relatively few people and it has been little noted that most of these were generous contributors not to Reagan and the Republicans but to the Democrats, who wooed them ceaselessly.

Nevertheless, the left, abetted by liberals in the media, coined the phrase "Decade of Greed" to describe the Eighties and built a series of myths on selective statistics. Now comes Richard B. McKenzie, the Walter B. Gerken professor of Enterprise and Society at the University of California's Irvine campus, to examine the myths dispassionately and tell us where the truth lies. Professor McKenzie is no card-carrying Reaganite, despite the defensive book title and cover art showing Reagan with this sleeves rolled up. Just the same, Reagan supporters will welcome his reasoned conclusions, supported as they are by ample data.

MCKENZIE IS even-handed. For example, take the left-liberal article of faith that the economic growth of the 1980s was bought at the cost of "mortgaging our children's future" through increased federal debt. He writes, "The reasons usually given for the rising public debt burden depend largely on political persuasion: federal income tax rates on the rich were dramatically lowered (the Democrats' favored explanation) or federal expenditures continued to rise with abandon (the Republicans' favored explanation). A more politically neutral explanation is that public debt soared because the Federal Reserve did not (or could not) inflate it away as it had done during the previous three decades (especially during the 1970s)." The author points out that the federal budget deficit, as a percentage of total U.S. production, went from six per cent down to three by the end of the decade.

At the same time, Americans were increasing their charitable giving. The annual growth rate of giving in the Eighties, in real terms, was nearly 5.5 percent higher than in the previous quarter century. Individual giving reached $102 billion in 1989, after expanding at a compounded rate of 5.2 percent between 1980 and 1989, according to McKenzie.

HE DIVIDES the book into nine easy-to-digest chapters: "Reality is Tricky," "The Misunderstood 'Decline of America'," "The Decade

Peter Hannaford is co-author of the forthcoming book Remembering Reagan.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of Greed That Wasn't," "Politics of the Rich and Poor: Incomes," "Politics of the Rich and Poor: Expenditures," "The Dance With the Debt Devil," "Retreat of the Part-Time Economy," "The Reagan Record," "The Bright Side of Government Deficits."

Contrary to the prophets of decline (not all of them on the political left) who have been much in evidence in recent years, McKenzie sees more prosperity ahead. He cites several disparate reasons: Americans are less parochial and more global in their thinking, the microchip has enhanced problem solving, the prices of most basic raw resources are falling, and the Cold War has ended.

What Went Right in the 1980s adds up to a much-needed reality check by a scholar without an axe to grind. CPR

Popular Culture

Hollywood's Line On Witch Hunts

A Change in the Wind?

T. R. O'Neill-Lopez

GOOD VILLAINS and their long-suffering, innocent victims make good drama which is why the blacklist hearings, or "McCarthyite witch hunts," along with a German National Socialist regime extinct since 1945, are still among the film community's favorite heavies. One would think, under the circumstances, that the entertainment business, and liberals overall, would be favorably disposed toward victims of witch hunts in general. Columbia University psychiatry Professor Richard Gardner, for instance, a man deeply concerned about the current fad of discovering child abuse under every rug, is trying to draw attention to the sort of parallel that normally sends Hollywood liberal temperatures soaring toward the boiling point. The United States, he says, is witnessing "its third great wave of hysteria." Gardner identifies the Salem witch trials as the first and the "McCarthy mania" as the second. The third, he says, is the current hysteria over child abuse, which, "is by far the worst with regard to the number of lives that have been destroyed and families that have disintegrated." An irresistible Hollywood story line, right? Wrong.

The root of the problem is a crisis in the therapy industry. It has long been clear that this tawdry trade, though it makes some people wealthy, rests on pseudo-science and doesn't actually help anybody. Even *Time*, whose true competition is now *People*, wonders, "Is Freud Dead?"

Increasingly under fire, the therapists have come up with a new product, "memory work," which, riding side-saddle on feminist ideology, wields this double-edged dialectic: If you think you were abused, you were; if you think someone is an abuser, they are. It's the perfect bromide for tinsel town: Are you unhappy? Don't fret; it's someone else's fault. It comes as no surprise that Roseanne Arnold and other "stars" have claimed they were sexually abused as children, and that such abuse is the source of whatever *malaise* they may encounter after discovering that money and fame cannot buy happiness.

AS K.L. BILLINGSLEY noted in *CPR* ("San Diego's Government-Sponsored Child-Abuse Industry," Spring 1993) several people in the Golden State, such as James Wade, a Navy man accused of raping his own daughter, have learned that to be the target of a child-abuse witch hunt is no fun. Wade's daughter maintained that an intruder had done it, until a "therapist," Kathleen Goodfriend of La Mesa, brain-

T. R. O'Neill-Lopez is California Political Review's *roving correspondent on Popular Culture.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

washed her into accusing her father falsely. (A basic tenet in the child abuse trade is that children are "in denial" until they say what the therapists want to hear.)

THE WADE case provides perfect dramatic material for a dynamite TV movie. Even after DNA evidence cleared Wade and pointed to a convicted sex offender, the child-abuse witch hunters still tried to have Wade's daughter adopted away forever! A sure box-office blockbuster! But strangely, although there was some Hollywood interest at one point, nothing came of it. On the other hand, a movie that adopted conventional child-abuse pieties *did* get made. *Do You Know the Muffin Man?*, which aired nationally in October 1989, portrayed a heroic therapist battling satanic ritual abusers who infiltrate day care centers. *Unspeakable Acts* was a similar, more recent TV film.

But we may be in for a change in the Hollywood wind regarding this kind of witch hunt. Actor James Woods has shown interest in the recent "child abuse" case of 36-year-old Dale Akiki, who, like James Wade, lives in San Diego and has recently been put through the child abuse wringer. His story is also a natural for a successful film.

Akiki suffers from multiple physical disorders, including an enlarged head. He has limited arm motions and does not drive a car. According to charges leveled against him, during bi-weekly 90-minute babysitting sessions at a church, he supposedly kidnapped groups of children and drove them to a mysterious house where he tortured them. He then supposedly returned the kids without any of the church's 3,500 members noticing anything amiss. Stephen King on LSD would be hard pressed to equal the accusations, which came to light only after months of "therapy." Among the details, Akiki was said to have killed an elephant and a giraffe in a church classroom and then drunk their blood.

Even though Akiki had no criminal record and the prosecution had no physical evidence against him, judges denied him bail five times and kept him in jail for two and one-half years. While he was in jail, *gang* members, convinced of his innocence, protected him from hostile convicts. The gang members, in this case, showed more sense than the prosecution. Last November 19, after a seven-month $2.3 million trial — the longest in San Diego history — a jury quickly found Akiki not guilty of all charges. Akiki was free at last and sheriff's deputies sent a limousine to pick him up.

Dramatically speaking, the case had it all: a vicious witch hunt fanned by flames of hysteria, wild sexual and satanic charges, buffoonish crusading prosecutors, and a clear victory of an innocent victim against powerful opponents. Even

so, producers did not stampede to Akiki's door. If he had been victimized by, say, a chemical company, there would have been a bidding war for the rights.

BUT, AS I say, there may be hope. James Woods recently met with Akiki. Here is a chance for some entrepreneur, perhaps of conservative inclinations, to finance a film with a good chance of dramatic and financial success. Stories like Akiki's (and, while we're at it, of the many victims of the politically correct plague currently sweeping higher education) would all make good drama. For the most part, they are there for the taking. CPR

Correspondence

(Continued from page 5)

courts continue to take a hostile view of almost all gender classifications, there is virtually nothing that can be done at the state level to broaden them, even if it were desirable to do so.

As to the more philosophical point, our own view is that decisions about employment, student admissions, public contracting, etc., should be made without regard to the criteria of race, sex, color, ethnicity, or national origin. It seems unlikely to us that a rigorous application of this principle will lead to the genderless or "homogenized" society that Mr. Chynoweth fears even if it were applied very broadly. In any case, we are opposed to laws that would restrict the right of any individual to compete for the goods of society without regard to his or her immutable characteristics, since these are almost invariably irrelevant to an individual's employment or other qualifications. I say "almost invariably," because there are instances where gender classifications can be justified — hence the addition of the foregoing provision to the final text of CCRI.

One of the reasons the ERA lost momentum towards the end is that feminists themselves recognized that it had been rendered largely irrelevant by statutory enactments and judicial interpretations of the Equal Protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. Nevertheless, there are some differences between the ERA and federal statutes like Title VII of the Civil Rights Act. One of the salient differences is that the latter, but not the former, makes an exception for "bona fide occupational qualifications." CPR

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

washed her into accusing her father falsely. (A basic tenet in the child abuse trade is that children are "in denial" until they say what the therapists want to hear.)

THE WADE case provides perfect dramatic material for a dynamite TV movie. Even after DNA evidence cleared Wade and pointed to a convicted sex offender, the child-abuse witch hunters still tried to have Wade's daughter adopted away forever! A sure box-office blockbuster! But strangely, although there was some Hollywood interest at one point, nothing came of it. On the other hand, a movie that adopted conventional child-abuse pieties *did* get made. *Do You Know the Muffin Man?*, which aired nationally in October 1989, portrayed a heroic therapist battling satanic ritual abusers who infiltrate day care centers. *Unspeakable Acts* was a similar, more recent TV film.

But we may be in for a change in the Hollywood wind regarding this kind of witch hunt. Actor James Woods has shown interest in the recent "child abuse" case of 36-year-old Dale Akiki, who, like James Wade, lives in San Diego and has recently been put through the child abuse wringer. His story is also a natural for a successful film.

Akiki suffers from multiple physical disorders, including an enlarged head. He has limited arm motions and does not drive a car. According to charges leveled against him, during bi-weekly 90-minute babysitting sessions at a church, he supposedly kidnapped groups of children and drove them to a mysterious house where he tortured them. He then supposedly returned the kids without any of the church's 3,500 members noticing anything amiss. Stephen King on LSD would be hard pressed to equal the accusations, which came to light only after months of "therapy." Among the details, Akiki was said to have killed an elephant and a giraffe in a church classroom and then drunk their blood.

Even though Akiki had no criminal record and the prosecution had no physical evidence against him, judges denied him bail five times and kept him in jail for two and one-half years. While he was in jail, *gang* members, convinced of his innocence, protected him from hostile convicts. The gang members, in this case, showed more sense than the prosecution. Last November 19, after a seven-month $2.3 million trial — the longest in San Diego history — a jury quickly found Akiki not guilty of all charges. Akiki was free at last and sheriff's deputies sent a limousine to pick him up.

Dramatically speaking, the case had it all: a vicious witch hunt fanned by flames of hysteria, wild sexual and satanic charges, buffoonish crusading prosecutors, and a clear victory of an innocent victim against powerful opponents. Even

so, producers did not stampede to Akiki's door. If he had been victimized by, say, a chemical company, there would have been a bidding war for the rights.

BUT, AS I say, there may be hope. James Woods recently met with Akiki. Here is a chance for some entrepreneur, perhaps of conservative inclinations, to finance a film with a good chance of dramatic and financial success. Stories like Akiki's (and, while we're at it, of the many victims of the politically correct plague currently sweeping higher education) would all make good drama. For the most part, they are there for the taking. CPR

Correspondence

(Continued from page 5)

courts continue to take a hostile view of almost all gender classifications, there is virtually nothing that can be done at the state level to broaden them, even if it were desirable to do so.

As to the more philosophical point, our own view is that decisions about employment, student admissions, public contracting, etc., should be made without regard to the criteria of race, sex, color, ethnicity, or national origin. It seems unlikely to us that a rigorous application of this principle will lead to the genderless or "homogenized" society that Mr. Chynoweth fears even if it were applied very broadly. In any case, we are opposed to laws that would restrict the right of any individual to compete for the goods of society without regard to his or her immutable characteristics, since these are almost invariably irrelevant to an individual's employment or other qualifications. I say "almost invariably," because there are instances where gender classifications can be justified — hence the addition of the foregoing provision to the final text of CCRI.

One of the reasons the ERA lost momentum towards the end is that feminists themselves recognized that it had been rendered largely irrelevant by statutory enactments and judicial interpretations of the Equal Protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. Nevertheless, there are some differences between the ERA and federal statutes like Title VII of the Civil Rights Act. One of the salient differences is that the latter, but not the former, makes an exception for "bona fide occupational qualifications." CPR

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Bilingual

(Continued from page 22)

graduation, and were graduating in numbers proportionate to the overall graduation rate of each school.* That means the present program, forced on the districts by the state, is not preparing LEP students for secondary school education and eventual high school graduation as well as local district programs did in the past. The Legislature's evaluation report says as much, although it fails to draw the connection to deficient English language preparation: "The limited access to the core curriculum — because of the absence of well-implemented programs for LEP students — adds to the already difficult problems that many of these teenagers have in adjusting to a new country and new schooling. These factors undoubtedly contribute to the high dropout rates of LEP secondary students."

Both the Berkeley case and the state evaluation provided valuable information about the effectiveness of primary-language and English-based instructional approaches. In Berkeley, following extensive testimony by expert witnesses representing both sides of the issue, the federal court approved that district's efforts to reduce "language barriers" by means of a program that featured English-based content instruction. The state evaluation was less clear cut, but in declining to proclaim the state's bilingual program a success in developing "in each child fluency in English," the primary goal set for it by the Legislature, even after so many years in operation, the report tacitly proclaimed its failure. Its drop-out figures did so also, by indicating that LEP students' English language skills were severely deficient. That these findings have been almost completely ignored indicates how thoroughly political interests and political forces at the state level have shouldered aside the interests of English-learning students in guiding California's local school districts. Indeed, the California bilingual juggernaut barrels along essentially unchanged as politicians at every level still call for more and more bilingual teachers and for more and more funding to pay for them — even though no one in either the CDE or the Legislature has ever given even a rough estimate of the program's annual cost.

IN THE past decade, the number of LEP students in California schools more than doubled. In this decade it appears to be growing at about the same rapid rate. Almost one-and-one-quarter million students in California schools — almost one of every four — have limited proficiency in English. For them, educational opportunity is inextricably linked to learning English rapidly and well. It is clearly in the interest of the vast majority of Californians that these students learn well in school and that they stay there long enough to graduate. Unfortunately, Willie Brown, the CTA, most of the bureaucrats in the Department of Education, the minions of NABE and CABE, and Professor Stephen Krashen have an agenda of their own, and they call the shots. CPR

* *Copies of this study are available for $1.00 each. (Checks only, please, payable to Robert Rossier.) Write: California Political Review, Attn: Robert Rossier Study, P.O. Box 56671, Sherman Oaks, CA 91413-1671.*

Forum: Mosher

(Continued from page 29)

about me? I am Chinese, not American. They don't know me. In China you help someone if you expect a return. You have to be related or have *some* tie between you; you would never do something for someone just because it was the right thing to do.

I said we believe in something called the Golden Rule taught by Jesus Christ — that you do unto others as you would have them do unto you. Americans would not like their government telling them they must abort or be sterilized and are willing to help you for that reason.

And, I said, if you want to know more about it, you should go to church. They began going to Mass, not understanding what all the chanting and kneeling, bowing of heads, and singing was about, but they kept going back. Two years ago, they were all baptized, and Chi An and her husband and their older son were confirmed in the Catholic Church.

CPR: And back in China — the other family members?

Mosher: They've been told not to contact Chi An ever again.

CPR: Why such lenience? Are they afraid of more bad publicity?

Mosher: They haven't locked anyone up. And indeed, after Tienanmen, they let Chi An's mother leave. Her mother now lives with her here. The father died years before. CPR

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Bilingual

(Continued from page 22)

graduation, and were graduating in numbers proportionate to the overall graduation rate of each school.* That means the present program, forced on the districts by the state, is not preparing LEP students for secondary school education and eventual high school graduation as well as local district programs did in the past. The Legislature's evaluation report says as much, although it fails to draw the connection to deficient English language preparation: "The limited access to the core curriculum — because of the absence of well-implemented programs for LEP students — adds to the already difficult problems that many of these teenagers have in adjusting to a new country and new schooling. These factors undoubtedly contribute to the high dropout rates of LEP secondary students."

Both the Berkeley case and the state evaluation provided valuable information about the effectiveness of primary-language and English-based instructional approaches. In Berkeley, following extensive testimony by expert witnesses representing both sides of the issue, the federal court approved that district's efforts to reduce "language barriers" by means of a program that featured English-based content instruction. The state evaluation was less clear cut, but in declining to proclaim the state's bilingual program a success in developing "in each child fluency in English," the primary goal set for it by the Legislature, even after so many years in operation, the report tacitly proclaimed its failure. Its drop-out figures did so also, by indicating that LEP students' English language skills were severely deficient. That these findings have been almost completely ignored indicates how thoroughly political interests and political forces at the state level have shouldered aside the interests of English-learning students in guiding California's local school districts. Indeed, the California bilingual juggernaut barrels along essentially unchanged as politicians at every level still call for more and more bilingual teachers and for more and more funding to pay for them — even though no one in either the CDE or the Legislature has ever given even a rough estimate of the program's annual cost.

IN THE past decade, the number of LEP students in California schools more than doubled. In this decade it appears to be growing at about the same rapid rate. Almost one-and-one-quarter million students in California schools — almost one of every four — have limited proficiency in English. For them, educational opportunity is inextricably linked to learning English rapidly and well. It is clearly in the interest of the vast majority of Californians that these students learn well in school and that they stay there long enough to graduate. Unfortunately, Willie Brown, the CTA, most of the bureaucrats in the Department of Education, the minions of NABE and CABE, and Professor Stephen Krashen have an agenda of their own, and they call the shots. CPR

* *Copies of this study are available for $1.00 each. (Checks only, please, payable to Robert Rossier.) Write: California Political Review, Attn: Robert Rossier Study, P.O. Box 56671, Sherman Oaks, CA 91413-1671.*

Forum: Mosher

(Continued from page 29)

about me? I am Chinese, not American. They don't know me. In China you help someone if you expect a return. You have to be related or have *some* tie between you; you would never do something for someone just because it was the right thing to do.

I said we believe in something called the Golden Rule taught by Jesus Christ — that you do unto others as you would have them do unto you. Americans would not like their government telling them they must abort or be sterilized and are willing to help you for that reason.

And, I said, if you want to know more about it, you should go to church. They began going to Mass, not understanding what all the chanting and kneeling, bowing of heads, and singing was about, but they kept going back. Two years ago, they were all baptized, and Chi An and her husband and their older son were confirmed in the Catholic Church.

CPR: And back in China — the other family members?

Mosher: They've been told not to contact Chi An ever again.

CPR: Why such lenience? Are they afraid of more bad publicity?

Mosher: They haven't locked anyone up. And indeed, after Tienanmen, they let Chi An's mother leave. Her mother now lives with her here. The father died years before. CPR

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

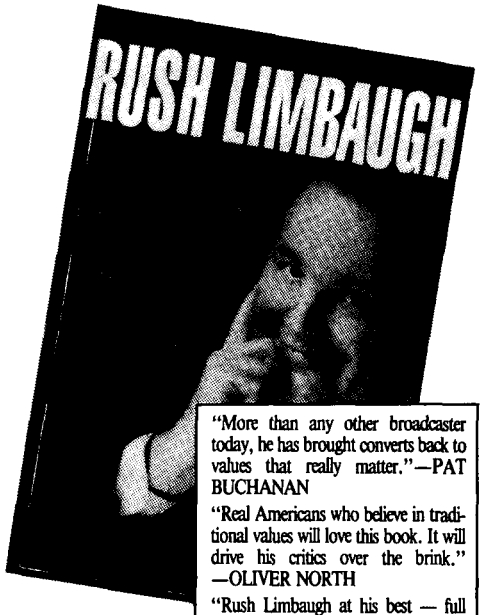
2 conservative bestsellers worth $29.99 — yours FREE

Most popular talk show host now delivers the fastest-selling conservative book ever published

Rush Limbaugh is not only right. Rib-achingly funny, this master satirist makes liberal idiocies look as ridiculous — well, as ridiculous as they are. No liberal myth survives Rush's laughter. But this book is more than a barrel of good laughs. It's a conservative call to action. The message:

This is the way things ought to be . . . the way things used to be . . . the way they can be again.

#1 bestseller

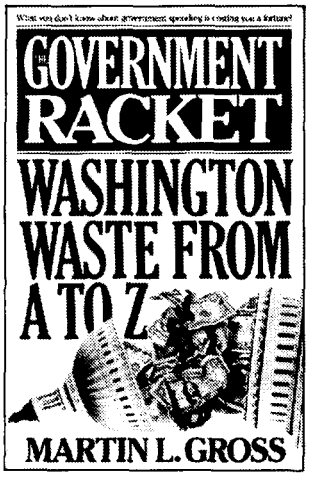


"More than any other broadcaster today, he has brought converts back to values that really matter."—PAT BUCHANAN

"Real Americans who believe in traditional values will love this book. It will drive his critics over the brink."—OLIVER NORTH

"Rush Limbaugh at his best — full of verve, humor and insight."—WILLIAM J. BENNETT

This man sat down and read the entire 2,000-page federal budget. And lived


What you don't know about government spending is costing you a fortune!
GOVERNMENT RACKET
WASHINGTON WASTE FROM A TO Z
MARTIN L. GROSS

Then Martin Gross put it all down, in sickening detail: how Congress and the President waste hundreds of billions every year, *mostly on themselves, their cronies, and the voters they bribe*.

The hundreds of outrages documented in this book are just the tip of the iceberg. That's because the con artists who run America these days are so cute about hiding their raids on your money. But Martin Gross now turns over the federal rock. Take a peek at the worms underneath.

But this is more than a catalog of thievery. All 26 chapters conclude with practical suggestions for *eliminating* the waste and fraud —*suggestions which, if followed, would be enough to erase the runaway deficit*. More important, he spells out the unconstitutional usurpation of power on which our decrepit system rests — and how the electorate can help restore limited government. You remember limited government, don't you?

Mail coupon below to get your 2 bestsellers FREE

How the Club Works

Every 4 weeks (13 times a year) you get a free copy of the Club Bulletin which offers you the Featured Selection plus a good choice of Alternates — all of interest to conservatives. ★ If you want the Featured Selection, do nothing; it will come automatically. ★ If you don't want the Featured Selection, or you do want an Alternate, indicate your wishes on the handy card enclosed with your Bulletin and return it by the deadline date. ★ The majority of Club books are offered at 20-50% discounts, plus a charge for shipping and handling. ★ As soon as you buy and pay for 3 books at regular Club prices, your membership may be ended at any time, either by you or by the Club. ★ If you ever receive a Featured Selection without having had 10 days to decide if you want it, you may return it at Club expense for full credit. ★ Good service. No computers! ★ The Club will offer regular Superbargains, mostly at 70-90% discounts plus shipping and handling. Superbargains do NOT count toward fulfilling your Club obligation, but do enable you to buy fine books at giveaway prices. ★ Only one membership per household.

CONSERVATIVE BOOK CLUB

15 Oakland Avenue • Harrison, N.Y. 10528

Please accept my membership in the Club and send, free and postpaid, my two conservative bestsellers: Rush Limbaugh's $22 *The Way Things Ought to Be* PLUS the $7.99 quality paperback by Martin Gross, *The Government Racket*. I agree to buy 3 additional books at regular Club bargain prices over the next 18 months. I also agree to the Club rules spelled out in this coupon.

CPR - 7

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

STOP ME BEFORE I WRITE MORE

With half his tongue-in-cheek tied behind his back (just to make it fair), Scott Gardner has done something no other author ever dared to do. He has written a book of less than a hundred pages that solves all the major problems of mankind. In a dazzling display of brevity and wit, Gardner devises hilarious "solutions" to such age-old afflictions as inflation, baldness, crime, smoking, runaway taxes, runaway roaches, poverty, cold feet in bed, loneliness, nuclear proliferation, and political corruption, to name just a few.

In the process of tackling all these problems (and almost as an afterthought), his book, "**Stop Me Before I Write More**" also takes on and demolishes the Welfare State, NASA, Big Government, the Arabs, the Russians, Wall Street, women's liberation, your local psychiatrist, and just about everyone else, himself included.

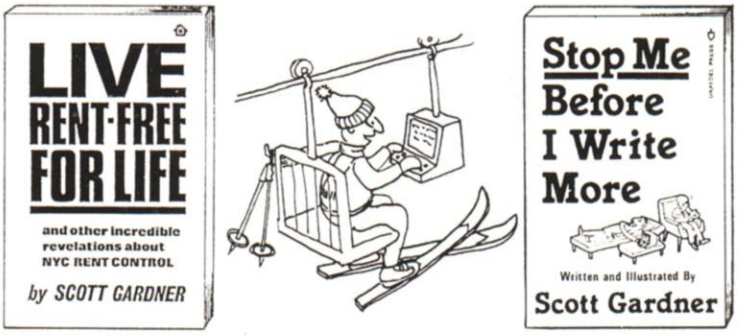
After reading "**Stop Me**," conservatives laugh so hard, they frequently need oxygen. Liberals, on the other hand, get so enraged, they very nearly have an apoplectic fit. The reason is simple: The liberal establishment doesn't like people who can solve their **own** problems, much less all the problems of mankind.

As proof of liberal tolerance and good humor, when this book came out in 1984, one of the largest publishers in the country threatened to sue Gardner for two million dollars. New York City slapped a consumer protection violation on his book **sight unseen**. And not one review ever appeared in the liberal press. Yet the book became an instant underground bestseller and is now considered a collector's item. More timely today than when it was first published, "**Stop Me**" is available again in very limited quantities. Order your copy today.

Oh yes. Since no one stopped him, Gardner recently wrote another book called "**Live Rent-Free For Life**," a devastating dissection of New York's rent control system. With exuberant derision, Gardner pokes fun at liberalism's most sacred cow, gleefully skewering tenant activists, militant Marxists, brain-dead bureaucrats, pandering politicians, and half-crazed landlords alike.

In a series of satirical essays that range from lampoon to parody to stand-up comedy, Gardner rips the mystique away from the Big Apple's humanitarian facade to expose the rotted core of what is perhaps New York's most destructive, possibly its costliest, but certainly its dumbest law. As a landmark case study of government stupidity in action, "**Live Rent-Free**" should be required reading for every American who values our free enterprise system. Both of these books belong in every conservative's library.

Special offer: Buy either book and get the other one for half price. Not available in ANY bookstore.



Buy one, get the other for half price

SCOTT GARDNER
Box 248C, 1173A 2nd Avenue, New York, NY 10021

Please rush me_____copies of the following:

STOP ME BEFORE I WRITE MORE.....at $9.95 ea. paperback
LIVE RENT-FREE FOR LIFE.....at $9.95 ea. paperback
SEND ME BOTH BOOKS FOR ONLY.....$14.95
(Add $2.00 per book for shipping/handling)

Enclosed is my check for $_____.

Name_____

Address_____

City_____State_____Zip_____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED